

Dr. G. ROERICH

**BIOGRAPHY OF
DHARMASVĀMIN**

(CHAG LO-TSA-BA
CHOS-RJE-DPAL)

928
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K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute

PATNA

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श्लाघ्यः स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृता ।

भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥

राजतरंगिणी, १.७

"HE ALONE IS A WORTHY AND COMMENDABLE HISTORIAN, WHOSE
NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS IN THE PAST, LIKE THAT
OF A JUDGE, IS FREE FROM PASSION, PREJUDICE
AND PARTIALITY"

KALHAṆA, *Rājataranginī* I.

Volume II

Biography of Dharmasvāmin

(Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal)

BY

Dr. G. ROERICH, M. A., Ph. D.

K. P. JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

PATNA

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT

DR. A. S. ALTHOFF

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EDITED BY

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FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT

VOLUME II

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FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT

OF A RIVER IN THE GREAT WESTERN REGION

AND ITS HISTORY

KALPANA JAYASWAL

VOLUME II

BIOGRAPHY OF DHARMASVAMIN

(Chag lo wa ho Choe-jed-pal)

DR. G. ROHRICH, M.A., Ph.D.

**BIOGRAPHY
OF
DHARMASVĀMIN**

(Chag lo tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal)

A TIBETAN MONK PILGRIM

ORIGINAL TIBETAN TEXT

deciphered and translated by

Dr. GEORGE ROERICH, [M.A., Ph.D.,

PROFESSOR AND THE HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY,
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, THE ACADEMY OF
SCIENCES, MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.

With a historical and critical Introduction

By

Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR

Director

K. P. JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

**K. P. JAYASWAL
RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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1. The Government of Bihar established the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna in 1951 with the object, *inter-alia*, to promote historical research, archaeological excavations and investigations and publication of works of permanent value to scholars. This Institute is one of the five others established by this Government as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted. Apart from the Jayaswal Research Institute, five others have been established to give incentive to research and advancement of knowledge, the Nalanda Institute of Research and Post-Graduate Studies in Buddhist Learning and Pali at Nalanda, the Mithila Institute of Research and Post-Graduate Studies in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga, the Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad for Research and advanced Studies in Hindi at Patna, the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Jain and Prakrit Learning at Vaishali and the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian Learning in Patna.

2. As part of this programme of rehabilitating and reorientating ancient learning and scholarship, the editing and publication of the Tibetan Sanskrit Text Series was undertaken by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute with the co-operation of scholars in Bihar and outside. It has also started a new Historical Research Series for elucidating the history and culture of Bihar and India. This book is the 2nd volume of this series. The Government of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fulness of time.

PREFACE

The Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna has great pleasure in offering to the learned public the biography of Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal, (Dharmasvāmin), a Tibetan monk pilgrim, who was in Bihar in 1234-6 A. D. and has described its condition in great detail. I may refer the reader to my Introduction (pp. i-xxxviii) for the great cultural and historical importance of the work. It is for the first time that an account about India, proceeding from the pen of a Tibetan pilgrim, is seeing the light of the day.

The Institute desires to express its indebtedness to Tripiṭakāchārya Rahula Sankrityayana, the indefatigable explorer and scholar, for the photostatic copy of the MS. of the biography, lying in the monastery of sNar-than in the gTsan province of central Tibet. It is grateful to Prof. G. Roerich, M. A., Ph. D., Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Institute of the Oriental Studies, Moscow, for having deciphered the Tibetan text from a single photostatic copy of the MS. and for having translated it into English. It is thankful to the Bihar Research Society, Patna, which is the custodian of the photostatic copies brought by Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana, for having placed the photographs of the MS. at the disposal of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute in order to get them translated and published.

PATNA
1-7-1959.

A. S. Altekar
Director,
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute

INTRODUCTION OF THE GENERAL EDITOR

SECTION I

Importance of the Work

The life of Chag lo-Tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (the translator Dharmasvāmin) belongs to that class of the sources of Indian history, which consists of the accounts of foreign travellers, merchants and pilgrims, who had visited India and had later left an account of their life, experiences and travels. Works belonging to this class are not numerous and I am thankful to Dr. G. Roerich for undertaking the difficult work of deciphering the book from a single Manuscript and preparing its English translation. Like Fa Hian, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, Dharmasvāmin was a Buddhist. He however hailed from Tibet and not from China. There was a good deal of intercourse between Tibet and Northern India from c. 600 to 1300 A.D. Hundreds of Indian monks went to the Land of the Snow during this period, but they were apparently too engrossed in translating Sanskrit Buddhist works in Tibetan to find any time to give us an account of their country of adoption. A number of Tibetan monks visited India, studied at Nālandā or Vikramāśilā and went back to their home to give their countrymen the fruits of their study. Chaglo-Tsā-ba Chos rje-dpal seems to be the only one among them who left notes about the account of India, her people, customs and institutions. We must therefore be very grateful to Upāsaka Chos-dar, the biographer, for giving us an account of the life and travels of Dharmasvāmin.¹ The author of this work relied mostly on the account dictated by Dharmasvāmin, and so the work may be regarded as giving us almost an eye witness' account of the incidents and conditions narrated therein.

1. For the sake of convenience we shall use this Sanskrit name to denote the author.

Compared to the works of Fa Hian, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, the present book is a small one. Its importance is however none-the-less very great. In order to reconstruct the history of India of the 5th and 7th centuries, we have several sources other than the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims. The history of northern India during the first half of the 13th century has been so far reconstructed mainly from the accounts of Muslim historians. Non-Muslim sources are very few and the present work, which describes the condition of Bihar as actually seen by an impartial Tibetan pilgrim, will rank very high among them.

SECTION II

Indo-Tibetan Intercourse

We have already pointed out how the Indo-Tibetan intercourse began in the 7th century; its condition during the first half of the 13th century is partly revealed by the present work. The Muslim conquest and the destruction, partial or complete, of the Buddhist places of pilgrimage like Bodha-Gayā, Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, had naturally resulted in a great setback to the flow of the Tibetan pilgrims and scholars to India. The more enterprising among them like Dharmasvāmin used to undertake the risk of the Indian journey in order to pay homage to the Buddha temple at Bodha-Gayā. Many well wishers used to dissuade them, while a few would encourage them, as was the experience of Dharmasvāmin. His uncle, the elder Dharmasvāmin, had braved the journey to India, but alas ! he died before returning to Tibet. There was another Tibetan monk studying with Rāhula-śrī-bhadra. He also died in India in c. 1234 A.D. At the time of Dharmasvāmin's visit in 1234-36, Buddhist Manuscript libraries had been mostly destroyed. We do not find Dharmasvāmin getting any copies of manuscripts from Bodha-Gayā or Nālandā. Such books, as he carried with him to Tibet, were copied in Nepāla monasteries. The account of Dharmasvāmin makes it clear that after the Muslim destruction of important places of learning in Bihar, Tibetan scholars used to repair to the monasteries in Nepāla and not in India for higher education.

India however still continued to enjoy the reputation of the ideal place for higher studies. When Dharmasvāmin returned from India, his reputation spread far and wide. At Lhassa, he met an Indian monk, named Dānaśrī, long domiciled in Tibet. He said to him 'You have studied for a long time in India, whereas I became like cattle by staying here' (p. 106).¹

Tibetan scholars, who stayed at places like Bodha-Gayā and Nālandā, usually lived on alms or were able to get free food and accommodation in local monasteries. Some of them however used to work as interpreters. The elder Dharmasvāmin worked as an interpreter to Śākyaśrī, Budhaśrī and Ratnaśrī (pp. 51-2).¹ The younger Dharmasvāmin also worked for some time as an interpreter for a party which had come to Gayā.

Indian Buddhism had naturally exercised considerable influence over the Tibetan Buddhism in the literary and philosophical spheres. The practice of Tantric processes and mystic Maṇḍalas, the worship of deities like Aparājītā, Khasarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara, Remata and Blue Achala and the study of Pāramitā works like Ashṭasāhasrikās and Pañchavimśati-sāhasrikās had become very popular. Our present work shows that architecture also did not remain uninfluenced. It points out how the court-yard of the Vajrāsana temple had gates to the east, north and west but none to the south, and observes that Tibetan temples and monastic courtyards followed the example and did not provide for any gate to the south (p.73).

SECTION III

The Life of Dharmasvāmin

The main incidents in the life of Dharmasvāmin are given by Dr. G. Roerich in his introduction, (pp. xxxix-lxv) but a few points be further elucidated. Before leaving Tibet in 1226, Dharmasvāmin had devoted about 22 years to his primary and higher education in his own country. He began his work with studying the alphabets, among which was included the Vartula

1. Bracketed page numbers in the Introduction refer to the page numbers of the English translation at the end of this book.

or the Vaivarta script of India. Most probably the contemporary script in Bihar, the proto-Bengali-cum-*proto-Maithili* script, was known by this appellation, though we have no other evidence upon the point. The letters of this script, as preserved in Tibetan Sanskrit MSS do look roundish. As in India of the days of Yuan Chwang, Śabdavidyā (grammar) Hetuvidyā (logic), Adhyātmavidyā (philosophy) and Abhidharma (higher philosophy) were the main subjects of study in Tibetan monasteries in the 13th century and Dharmasvāmin spent considerable time in mastering them while in Tibet. Works on Yoga, Tantra and the Guhyasamāja loomed large in the Tibetan course and naturally ; for the contemporary Buddhism in Tibet attached high value to them. Dharmasvāmin had also become an expert in drawing Maṇḍalas. He mentions that Chikitsā (medicine) and Śilpasthāna, (sculpture and architecture) were also cultivated; this must have been true only of those monks, who wanted to work in the monastic hospitals or intended to direct the work of the construction of temples and monasteries. Dharmasvāmin had acquired considerable mastery over subjects like grammar, philosophy and logic in his own country. He had a sharp memory and his biographer tells us that he could recite the books from memory and did not require the palm of his hand to hold them (p. 52). He had also studious and persevering habits. He did not separate himself from pen and ink from the age of 17 to 45 (p. 51). His devotion to studies reminds us of the Naishṭhika Brahmachārin of the Hindu tradition, who spent their entire life in the cause of sacred learning.

Dharmasvāmin was not merely interested in Indian scholarship, but also in Indian scholars. He gives us an account of the legendary life of Kālidāsa (pp. 82-5), and also of the Śāstrārtha between Chandrakīrti and Chandragomin (pp. 91-2).

Dharmasvāmin was 29 when he completed his studies in Tibet and decided to go to Nepāla, which was then a famous centre of higher Indian studies. He spent eight years at Svayambhu Chaitya and Dharmadhātu Vihāra, situated on the border of Tibet and Nepāla. His preceptors were Ratnarakshita and Ravindra, who appear to be Indians. Of these the first

was a Tāntrika and taught his pupil the *maṇḍala-sādhana* and Guhyasamāja works including *Vajrāvali*. The second preceptor Ravindra did not believe in Tantric practices and emphasised upon the mind of his Tibetan pupil the futility of imprecations and magic (p. 56). Our pilgrim studied Pitakas also in Nepāla. Ratnarakshita was perhaps the more famous of the two ; he had received as presents 300 Gurughaṇṭās from perhaps as many different disciples, whom he had trained.

After finishing his education in Nepāla, Dharmasvāmin decided to go to India in 1234 A.D. He was then 37 years in age. The conditions in Bihar were very much unsettled ; the province had been recently overrun by the Muslims and they had not yet succeeded in establishing any settled administration. Life and property of Hindus and Buddhists were not safe. The difficulties in the way of a non-Indian Buddhist were greater still. When our pilgrim announced his intention to proceed to India, majority of his advisers tried to dissuade him, pointing out that there might be accident to his life. Dharmasvāmin's own uncle had died in India 18 years earlier, and so the apprehension was not unjustified. Two of Dharmasvāmin's Gurus Tsaṅpa Gye-re and Ravindra encouraged him. The latter said, 'There will be no danger.....We, father and son, (i.e. the Guru and his disciple) shall meet again' (p. 57). Dharmasvāmin's one ambition from his childhood was to visit India and offer his prayer at the Vajrāsana. He was a man of resolute will and grim determination ; the stories of the dangers on the way from robbers, wild animals and Muslim soldiers did not unnerve him, and he started on his journey all alone in 1234 A. D., as his attendant had died in Nepāla just at that time.

Unfortunately the work does not give us a precise account of the journey of the pilgrim. He spent his first rainy season retreat (*vassā*) at Bodha-Gayā (p. 74) and the second one at Nālandā (p. 95). Very likely he started on his journey in the spring of 1234 A.D., say in March, and spent about three months in travelling across Nepāla to Tirhut.¹ He probably reached it

1. It is difficult to understand why 90 days should be necessary to cross Nepāla and reach Tirhut. Probably the pilgrim might have halted on the way.

in May, for he must have planned to be in that holy Tīrtha on the day of Sambodhi, i.e. Vaiśākhī Pūrṇimā or the full moon day of May. He had however to flee away for 17 days owing to the apprehended Muslim attack. Thereafter he returned and could carry on his worship to his heart's content. He states expressly that he spent the first *vassā* at Bodha-Gayā; so he must have stayed there from July to October 1234. In the early part of the winter of 1234 Dharmasvāmin seems to have visited some minor places of worship both of the Buddhists and Hindus, including a temple of Kālī, which was supposed to be associated with the great poet Kālidāsa. He then visited Gṛidhrakūṭa and Rājagṛiha, probably in the month of January 1235 A. D. At Rājagṛiha there was Mahāpaṇḍita Yaśomitra with whom Dharmasvāmin studied many doctrines (p. 89). He might have spent about four months there, - January to April 1235. He then went to Nālandā to study under Rāhula-śrī-Bhadra, who was the head abbot and more than 90 years in age. He was a specialist in grammar and there were still 70 students reading under him.¹ He also knew Tibetan well, for he assisted Dharmasvāmin in translating *Kālachakravatī* into Tibetan during the latter's stay at Nālandā. His new Guru did not want him to spend a second *vassā* in India, as a year before a Tibetan monk reading with him had died of high fever; he therefore pressed him to return to Tibet. But Dharmasvāmin was not anxious to cross the Ganga in the rainy season and preferred to spend it at Nālandā in order to complete his studies. As apprehended by his Guru he however fell ill; his body was covered all over with boils, which caused intense pain (p. 95). He however recovered, though he continued to be very weak. In spite of his illness and weakness, in spite of the Muslim onslaughts off and on, he continued his studies at Nālandā, till they were completed, probably by March 1236. He then begged permission of his Guru to return to Tibet, but the latter affectionately detained him for a month and then gave him a send off, saying 'I am old and Tibet is far away. We shall not meet

1. Tārānātha in his *History of Buddhism in India* gives precisely the same information about this abbot and the number of students reading under him; probably he relied on some earlier works like the present one.

in this life ; we shall meet in Sukhavatī' (p. 97). The work says that Dharmasvāmin spent two full years only in Magadha. We have observed above that he crossed the Ganga and entered Magadha probably in April 1234. He recrossed that river in his journey homewards probably in the month of May or June, 1236, just before the rainy season.

After crossing the Ganga probably in May 1236, Dharmasvāmin journeyed across Tirhut and reached the city of Pa-ta or Simraon, situated in its extreme north. He must have reached this city by about the end of June and planned to be in Nepāla for his rainy season. But fate had willed it otherwise. In this rainy season also he fell ill and suffered for about two months from what was known as Magadha fever. He had rented a house to stay, but the owner wanted him to vacate and go to live at the cremation ground, as the fever was known to be fatal in its consequences. There was no body to invite Dharmasvāmin to stay with him. His body was all aching ; his eyes had become dim. The things were thus in a critical stage, when a Tāntrika from Tibet came to his rescue, offered him money, and served him for two months with devotion. Dharmasvāmin was in a critical condition and it is no wonder that the Tāntrika appeared to him a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara. The Tāntrika had known his family and had served the elder Dharmasvāmin during his illness. The illness of two months had reduced Dharmasvāmin to a skeleton and his former acquaintances could hardly recognise him. After his recovery, he had an opportunity to meet the local Rājā, named Rāmasimha, who honoured him with a number of presents including gold, medicine, rice, etc. and pressed him to stay for a few days (p. 100). He even offered to make him his own priest, though he was a Hindu and Dharmasvāmin a Buddhist. Dharmasvāmin politely declined the offer and started for Nepāla probably by the end of October 1236.

Before resuming the narrative of his further journey, we may refer to some other incidents during his stay in India. The attack by brigands on the way was one of the frequent accidents in the journey ; but Dharmasvāmin had not that unpleasant experience. He states that he did meet robbers on the way, but

owing to the grace of Avalokiteśvara, they did not molest him. An impudent woman of low caste attacked his party in Tirhut, while on his journey to Bodha-Gayā; some of his companions fell victims to her wiles but Dharmasvāmin ran away from her and saved himself (p. 58). On another occasion a wild bull threatened to attack the party, but eventually the danger did not materialise. The molestation from the Muslim soldiery will be referred to later in Section VI.

Dharmasvāmin's visit seems to have been motivated more by a spiritual than by an intellectual urge. He was anxious to see the image of the Lord at Vajrāsana or Bodhā-Gayā, which it was believed was endowed with the power of conferring great blessings and which even people with little faith could not see without being moved (p. 67). He was also anxious to give finishing touches to his education with the help of Indian Paṇḍitas. But Vikramaśilā had been razed to the ground and at Bodha-Gayā he met with no scholars. At Rājagṛiha he was lucky to meet a deep scholar Mahāpaṇḍita Yaśomitra, with whom he studied many doctrines. Unfortunately, however, Dharmasvāmin does not enlighten us as to what these were and what books he studied. Nālandā was a mere ghost of its earlier glory, but still it had 70 monk scholars, well grounded in grammar and other subjects. Its head abbot Rāhula-śrī-Bhadra was a sound scholar and Dharmasvāmin studied his commentary on Gurupañchaśikā during his stay at Nālandā. What other books he studied there, is not given in the work.

Dharmasvāmin returned to Nepāla probably at the end of 1236 or the beginning of 1237 A.D., and was well received there. Rich and pious devotees presented him gold and other valuable things; he utilised the former in procuring images and copies of MSS. Our pilgrim was keen to reach his own monastery in Tibet situated at ITe-u-ra in order to be of help to his own preceptor, but he received a pressing invitation to spend some time at Yaṇdog monastery situated on the border of Nepāla and Tibet. His Guru Ravindra pressed him to accept the invitation and he eventually decided to do so. While staying here, he was requested to send a copy of his commentary on *Nāmasaṃgīti* by the autho-

rities of the Saskya monastery. It was highly appreciated there. Our pilgrim spent four years at Yañ-dog. This no doubt delayed his departure to his own monastery, but it enabled him to gather a large number of MSS. His stay in India had heightened his reputation and he received as presents from his disciples six copies of *Pañchaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and two of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* written in gold and 159 volumes of Sūtras written in ink and two lots of books of 32 and 16 volumes each. He also received a golden vase. Dharmasvāmin could also train ten disciples of the monastery in higher Buddhist studies. It was probably in 1240 or 1241 A.D. that Dharmasvāmin left the Yañ-dog monastery and started for I-Te-u-ra. His departure from Yañ-dog was like a royal procession and several domestic yaks were required to carry the packages. His lay disciples thronged in large numbers, for he had inspired a tremendous faith in them ; some of them accompanied him for four stages. A few of them, who had no children, were soon blessed with issues and they attributed their good luck to the spiritual favour and power of their Guru. It is interesting to note that there were also some detractors, who observed that most of the packages contained only dyes and raw sugar, and no books at all.

Dharmasvāmin reached his own monastery at ITe-u-ra in c. 1241 and stayed there for about twenty three years with occasional visits to other places. His prolonged stay and studies in Nepāla and Magadha had enhanced his reputation as a monk-scholar. His fame spread far and wide and the famous Mongol prince Kublai-khān sent an imperial embassy to request him to visit his court. Dharmasvāmin, however, politely got himself excused. Another embassy from Kublai-khān visited him in 1256 A.D., repeating the same request. This time Dharmasvāmin had to start for Mongolia and reached as far as Northern sÑin'-bum. Then he began to suffer from pain in legs and eventually the Mongol dignitaries permitted him to return, hoping that at least Tibet would continue to get the benefit of his sermons and scholarship.

Among the places visited by Dharmasvāmin after his return from India was the Sakamuni temple in Lhasa, which he

visited two years after his return. On his way he visited sTag-tshal of Yar-lung to enquire from Paṇḍita Dānaśrī there whether he possessed the Indian original of *Sādhanaśamuchhaya*. In 1258 A.D. Dharmasvāmin visited Thaṅ-po-che and spent there a year in lecturing on various subjects. The topics included in his discourses were the Jātakas, *Mahāchittotpāda*, *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, *Suhrillekha*, *Bhāvanākrama* (of Kamalasīla) the *Samvṛitibodhichitta-bhāvanā* and *Paramāratha-Bodhichittabhāvanā* (of Aśvaghosha). He used to recite Gurustotra and Mañju-ghoshastotra at the beginning of each lecture (p. 110).

Dharmasvāmin was now (in 1258 A.D.) more than 60 years old and was naturally becoming more and more spiritual and religious in his outlook. Before departing from Thaṅ-po-che, he exhorted the monks to concentrate not only on studies, but also on meditation, because without meditation, one cannot practise the religion one preaches. He pointed out how he had taken and practised several vows from his young age, the vows to accumulate merit, not to covet riches, not to lend on profit, small or great, not to collect taxes from the people in retinue and indulge in similar worldly activities (p. 108). After leaving the monastery of Thaṅ-po-che, Dharmasvāmin retired to 'Ju'i-phu and spent three months in silence and meditation. He then composed a commentary on Pradīpodyotana and lectured upon it. Dharmasvāmin felt that in order to purify the Buddhism of Tibet, stress should be laid on the teachings of Mādhyamikā-Ratnāvalī and Pradīpodyotana. As he was approaching his end, his spiritual and intellectual reputation was becoming higher and higher. He was asked to lay the foundation of an ecclesiastical palace near Lhasa and lecture at the monastery at 'Khor-do near the same city. At the latter place he used to deliver five lectures a day and the attendance of the monk-scholars was usually one hundred. He used to give initiations to a number of senior monks (p. 108) at famous monasteries like that at Sas-kyā.

After spending five years at Yar luṅ monastery, teaching and preaching, Dharmasvāmin declined other invitations and went back to his own monastery at lTe-u-ra in gñal. He was now

(1263 A.D.) 67 and was feeling his own end approaching. He gave all his wealth in charity, it consisted of three plates full of precious stones, and passed away on Wednesday, the 10th day of the bright half of Margaśīrsha of the year Wood-Male-Mouse (January 1264 A.D.). At the time of his death, he was regarded as a manifestation of the Buddha and his biographer narrates how a number of rainbows appeared in the sky, which began to shower celestial flowers. People could catch the latter in their hands, but when they opened them out, they could see nothing.

Dharmasvāmin was the author of 30 books, which have been enumerated by Dr. G. Roerich in his Introduction at pp. xlv-xlv.

In view of the controversy about the beginning of the Lakshmaṇa Saṃvat and the date of king Buddhasena, which will be discussed in Section V of this Introduction, it has to be pointed out that according to the Tibetan evidence there is no doubt whatsoever that Dharmasvāmin was born in 1197 A.D. and expired in 1264 A.D. His birth year is given as 1197 (Fire Female-Serpent year) in our work, as well as in Deb-ther-snon-po finished in 1478 A.D., and also in the life of Sum-pa Khan-po (*J. A. S. B.* 1889, p. 50). So we have to place his birth date in 1197 A.D. The above authorities give his year of death as 1264 (Wood-Male-Mouse year). After 1027 A.D. the Tibetans were following the Indian Bṛihaspati cycle of sixty years, to which the old 12 years cycle was correlated.¹ So if the Fire-Female-Serpent year of the birth of Dharmasvāmin is not taken to be 1197 A.D., it will have to be equated with either 1257 A.D. or 1137 A.D., either of which is not possible. If we assume that 1137 A.D. was his birth year, Kublai Khan cannot become his contemporary; we shall have to assume that U. P. and Bihar were overrun by the Muslims in 1175 A.D., which was not the case at all. If we assume his birth year to be 1257, Rāmasiṃha of the Kaṇṇāṭa dynasty, Kublai Khan of Mongolia and Buddhasena of Bodha-Gayā cannot become his contemporaries. So his birth year,—Fire Female-Serpent year,—must be 1197 A.D. and no other year.

1. I am indebted to Dr. G. Roerich for the information in this paragraph.

SECTION IV

Reliability of the Account

The account of Bihar given to us in the Life of Dharmasvāmin is fairly reliable. Of course we must make allowance for the inherent limitations both of Dharmasvāmin and his biographer. They were both faithful Buddhists who shared in the belief in miracles, which was so common a characteristic of the age they lived in. When we are told that the lamp in front of the temple at Bodha-Gayā could never be extinguished (p. 72), we should regard the statement as a proof of his strong faith and not the narration of a historical fact. When he states that Kālidāsa was the author of the Kalipa (Kalāpa) grammar (p. 85), we should attribute the mistake to the contemporary literary tradition and not to its Tibetan narrator. His statement that Paṭa or Paṭṭana, the capital of Tīrhuṭ, had six lakhs of families staying in it is probably due to the temptation to exaggerate, from which few foreigners' accounts are altogether free. More serious is his mistake about the height of the spire of the Bodha-Gayā temple, which he states was only 52 feet (p. 66). His observation that the temple was visible from a distance of two stages, i.e. about 14 miles, contradicts the above statement; perhaps there may be a scribal error in the Manuscript when it gives the height of the temple.

Barring such few mistakes as the above, the account is fairly reliable. His location of Veluvana and Hot Springs at Rājagriha is correct and his description of the different monuments in the court yard of the Vajrāsana temple is accurate, as will be shown in Section VIII. He resists the temptation of exaggerating the destruction brought about by the Muslim conquerors. He was in India from 1234 to 1236 A.D. and it can be shown by independent evidence that king Rāmasiṃha of Tīrhuṭ and Buddhasena of Bodha-Gayā, whom he met during his short sojourn in Bihar, were actually ruling at that time. We are told that the elder Dharmasvāmin, the uncle of our pilgrim, who died in India in 1216 A.D., served as an interpreter for the monks Śākyaśrī, Buddhaśrī and Ratnaśrī (pp. 51-2); the first of these persons is known to have flourished in c. 1200 A.D.

Compared to the accounts handed down to us by Fa Hian, Yuan Chwang or I-tsing, the narrative left by Dharmasvāmin may appear as meagre. But we have to remember that Dharmasvāmin lived in India for only about two and a half years and that he had two serious and prolonged illnesses during this period. When not ill, he and his hosts were always in apprehension of a Muslim attack any time. One can hardly expect a richer or a more varied account under these circumstances. It will be soon shown how the account throws valuable light on several points of the political and cultural history of the period.

SECTION V

Light on the Political History

The first ruler mentioned by Dharmasvāmin is king Rāmasiṃha of Tirhut. The name of this ruler is not mentioned in Chap. III, where Tirhut and its capital are first described in detail, but it is given in Chap. X, which describes the stay of Dharmasvāmin at his capital during his journey back. This Rāmasiṃha is obviously a king of the Kaṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā founded by Nānyadeva. Nānyadeva ruled from 1097 to 1147 A.D.; his next three successors were Gaṅgadeva, Narasiṃhadeva and Rāmasiṃhadeva. The date of Rāmasiṃhadeva is from 1227 to 1285 A.D.,¹ and we can, therefore, well accept the statement of Dharmasvāmin that he had an interview with him in 1236 A.D., when he was on his way back to Nepāla and Tibet. The capital of Rāmasiṃhadeva was Simrāongarh (Simārāmagarh). Dharmasvāmin, however, calls it as Pa-ta. Probably Simrāongarh was also known as Simrāmapattana, and Pata of Dharmasvāmin is an abbreviation of Pattana, its last affix. In Sanskrit, Pattana usually means a capital.² Pata was within easy reach of Nepāla, and the same is the case of Simrāongarh. Our pilgrim met with many Nepalese at Pa-ta (p. 101).

Dharmasvāmin states (p. 58) that additional precautions had been taken to increase the military guard of the palace,

1. R. K. Choudhary in *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV p. 110

2. Cf. *Pattanam yatra rājadhāni sthita*.

owing to the fear of the Muslim invaders, who during the year, had led an army against the town, but failed to reach it. This statement also is likely to be correct. For a long time the Mithilā kingdom was resisting the Muslim advance. Mohammad Bakhtiar Khalji took the southern route in his expedition to Bengal, because the kingdom of Mithilā lay across the northern road. Portions of Purnea passed under Mohammad Bakhtiyar in c. 1200, when Bengal was conquered by him. For a time the position was critical for the Karṇāṭa house, for it was being harassed both by the Muslim rulers of Oudh and Bengal. But Narasimhadeva, the father of Rāmasimha, made an alliance with Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din of Bengal and helped him to capture the whole of southern Bihar. This must have strengthened his position. Narasimhadeva was punished for this impudence by Iltutmish and had to apologise to him. Soon after the death of the latter in 1229 A.D. there ensued a period of chaos at Delhi under the inefficient rule of Rukn-ud-din, when the Central Government lost its authority over outlying provinces like Lahore, Multan, Oudh and Bengal. The provincial governors were fighting among themselves. At this time some half-hearted attempt might have been made by the rulers of Oudh and Bengal to attack the Karṇāṭa kingdom and Rāmasimha might well have repulsed the army in 1233 A.D. without allowing it to reach his capital.

Dharmasvāmin's statement based upon personal observation that the palace of Rāmasimha was surrounded by seven walls and twenty one ditches and had eleven gates with arches can be proved or disproved only by archaeological explorations at Simrā-ongharh.

The second monarch mentioned by Dharmasvāmin is king Buddhasena. He is expressly described as the king of Magadha, residing (i. e. with his capital) at Vajrāsana or Bodha-Gayā (p. 64). The further information about him that he was a descendant of Rājā Devasthya, who belonged to the family of the Buddha's maternal uncle, is purely legendary and need not detain us. This Rājā had fled at the advent of the Muslim soldiers, but

1. R. K. Choudhary in *A.B.O.R.I.*, pp. 110ff.

returned from his forest resort when the danger was over. He was coming in a procession of five hundred soldiers mounted on an elephant. He was a Buddhist and when he saw Dharmasvāmin among the spectators, he got down to greet him with the words 'Salutations to the son of the Buddha'. This meeting between the king Buddhasena and Dharmasvāmin took place early in the rainy season of 1234 A.D.¹

Dharmasvāmin's account of Buddhasena is unfortunately short, but it serves to elucidate a number of historical puzzles. King Buddhasena, whom he met, is obviously identical with king Buddhasena mentioned in an undated inscription found at Bodha-Gayā² and in the Jānibighā (Gayā District) inscription of Jayasena,³ dated in Lakshmaṇa Saṃvat 83, where he figures as his father. In both these records he is described as Piṭhipati and there was considerable speculation among scholars as to the exact location of Piṭhī. There was a consensus of opinion that Piṭhī should be somewhere in Bihar, but our author's statement that he was the Rājā of Magadha ruling at Vajrāsana suggests that Piṭhī was merely an abbreviation of Vajrapīṭha and was nothing else than Bodha-Gayā itself.

The Jānibighā inscription of Buddhasena's son Jayasena is dated in the year 83 of Lakshmaṇa Saṃvat and this raises a number of issues. The initial year of the Lakshmaṇa Saṃvat is placed by different scholars sometime between 1108 to 1118-9 A.D.; the latter date is accepted by the majority. Jayasena, the donor of Jānibighā inscription, is the son of Buddhasena, whom our author had met in 1234 A.D. Now if we assume, as is done by most scholars, that the Lakshmaṇa Saṃvat was started in 1118-9 A.D., the date of Jayasena, as given by the Jānibighā inscription, would be Lakshmaṇa Saṃvat 83 or 1201-2 A.D. His father Buddhasena must have died or abdicated before 1201 A.D. and Dharmasvāmin could not have met him as king in 1234 A.D., when he visited Bodha-Gayā. One way out of the difficulty is to

1. We have shown earlier how the date of the birth of Dharmasvāmin is quite definite and so is the date of his meeting with king Buddhasena.

2. *I. A.*, XLVIII, p. 45.

3. *J.B.R.S.*, IV, p. 266, 279; *I.A.*, XLVIII, p. 47.

assume that Buddhasena, whom Dharmasvāmin met, was the son and successor of Jayasena, who could have ruled at Bodha-Gayā between 1220 to 1240 A.D. and met our author. In India the custom of naming a grandson after the grandfather is quite common. But there is no evidence whatsoever to show that Jayasena had a son named Buddhasena.

The origin of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat, however, is shrouded in considerable mystery. It could hardly have been started in 1118-19 when Lakshmaṇa Sena is said to have been born, because two other Sena rulers Vijaya Sena and Ballāḷa Sena were on the throne between 1120 and 1179 A.D. No Sena king, not even Lakshmaṇa Sena and his two sons Viśvarupa Sena and Keśava Sena, ever used this era. In Bengal it was not in vogue till c. 1500 A.D.

There is another serious difficulty in assuming that the year 83 of Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat occurring in the Jānibighā inscription has to be referred to the era founded in 1118-9 A.D. The Jānibighā inscription mentions Buddhasena as the father of Jayasena. His date should, therefore, be c. 50 to 75 of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat. Now we have two inscriptions at Bodha-Gayā recording the donations of king Aśokachalla from Sapādalaksha in the Punjab. One of them is dated in the year 51¹ and the other in the year 74² of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat. Aśokachalla of Sapādalaksha was thus a contemporary of Buddhasena of Bodha-Gayā. Now we have a third inscription at Bodha-Gayā, which also refers to Aśokachalla, who can be none other than Aśokachalla of the two inscriptions mentioned above. This inscription is dated in the year 1813 of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha.³ Bodha-Gayā was at this period under considerable Ceylonese influence; none but Ceylonese monks could carry out the worship of the Buddha or sleep in the courtyard of the temple. The date of the Parinirvāṇa era current in Gaya must, therefore, have been the one accepted by the Ceylonese tradition, viz. 544 B.C. The year 1813 of the Parinirvāṇa era would thus

1. *E.I.*, XII p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

3. *I.A.*, X, p. 342.

correspond with 1269 A.D.¹ If we assume that the Lakshmaṇa era of Bodha-Gayā inscription of Aśokaehalla dated 51, started in 1118 A.D., then his earliest known year would be 1169 A.D. and the latest one, (1813 of the Parinirvāṇaera) would be 1269. We shall have to assume that he had a reign, not a life, of more than a hundred years, which is very improbable.

Some clue to the solution of the difficulty is offered by the language used to denote the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat in three Gayā district records :—

1. *Śrīmat-Lakshmaṇa (kshmaṇa)senasyātīta-rājya-Saṁ. 51*²
2. *Śrīmat-Lakshmaṇasena-deva-pādānām atītarājya-Saṁ. 74*³
3. *Lakshmaṇasenasyatītarājye Saṁ. 83*⁴

Vidyāvinod has no doubt translated the first of the above expressions as of the year 51 since the (commencement of the) reign, (now) past, of the illustrious Lakshmaṇa Sena, but this interpretation is obviously forced and unnatural. The era obviously refers to an era connected with the end of the rule of king Lakshmaṇa Sena. People were usually accustomed to count years with reference to the prosperous and victorious reign of a living king referred to as *Pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya*; but the ruling kings now happened to be foreign iconoclasts. People in Bihar⁵ therefore seem to have preferred to refer to the past rule of Lakshmaṇa Sena, who had apparently made a deep impression on the public mind. Later on the idea of an era to mark the extinction of the kingdom of Lakshmaṇa Sena was given up in favour of an era to mark his birth; and hence the presumption of later inscriptions about its beginning at c. 1118-1119 A.D.

If we accept this hypothesis, all known facts of history can well be explained. The year 83 for Jayasena would correspond to c. 1283 A.D. His reign period may be placed between 1260 to

1. If we assume the date 483 B.C. for the Parinirvāṇa, then the date of Aśokaehalla will be 1330 A.D., which is altogether impossible.

2. *E.I.*, XII, 29.

3. *E.I.*, XII, 28.

4. *I.A.*, XLVIII, 47.

5. In Bengal also there were started some eras like Ballālī Saṁvat and Parganati-Saṁvat, whose initial years were 1199 and 1202-3. R.C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 235.

1285 and that of his father Buddhasena between 1230 and 1260. Dharmasvāmin could therefore well have seen him in Bodha-Gayā in 1234 A.D. The dates of Aśokachalla of Sapādalaksha country in Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat 51 and 74 would be c. 1251 and 1274 A.D. His date in Parinirvāṇa Saṁvat 1813 would be 1269 A.D. It thus falls within the known span of his rule. According to the Muslim historians there was considerable unrest in the Doab during the period 1240 to 1270. The roads were unsafe; Hindu Zamindars were up in arms and several expeditions had to be sent to chastise them. There is nothing improbable in a king of Sapādalaksha country assuming the imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja, exercising sway over feudatories like Purushottama Siṁha, and occasionally proceeding to Bodha-Gayā to pay his respects to the Vajrāsana and make a donation to the local temple.

SECTION VI

Effect of the Muslim Conquest in Bihar

Dharmasvāmin's account is very valuable because it gives us first hand information of the effects produced by the Muslim conquest. The conquerors had overrun the country but had not yet succeeded in establishing any stable administration. In Bihar there were several Hindu or Buddhist kings, who were leading a precarious existence. They were too weak to oppose the Muslim forces, but strong enough to emerge from their forest retreats and reestablish their rule when the invading army had passed away, as is shown by the case of Buddhasena. We do not get reference to the Muslim administrative machinery except at Bihar Sharif, where there was a Muslim military head-quarters.

Bands of Muslim soldiers were roaming about the country creating consternation among the population, probably by their loot and exactions. Two such soldiers were in the ferry boat, which was taking Dharmasvāmin across the Ganga on his way back to Tibet. They demanded gold from him. Being a simple person or a simpleton, Dharmasvāmin threatened to report them to the king, forgetting that Hindu and Buddhist kings were at this time unable to protect themselves, much less their subjects.

This threat made the Muslim soldiers wild and they snatched away the begging bowl of Dharmasvāmin. Two Buddhist lay passengers tried to assuage the Muslim soldiers by offering them precious things, but the soldiers replied 'We do not want your wealth ; we want this Tibetan'. The matter was eventually compromised by Dharmasvāmin offering a Paṇa on his own behalf. Had the fellow passengers not intervened, Dharmasvāmin would have been carried away as a slave, and Indian history would have lost this important source-book.

When Dharmasvāmin reached Vaiśālī on his way to Bodha-Gayā, the town was all deserted on account of the apprehended arrival of a Muslim force. People used to desert their houses by day and come back to them at night (p. 62). Vikramaśilā had been completely destroyed before 1206 A.D. and its foundation stones had been hurled into the Ganga, (p. 64). The Bodha-Gayā establishment had been deserted by all except four monks. The ancient image had been walled up by a brick wall and a new one had been put in the ante-chamber. The old image had, however, been already despoiled of its emerald eyes earlier. The king of Bodha-Gayā had fled to forest. Dharmasvāmin himself had to flee away for seventeen days. When it became clear that the Muslim force had gone away, people returned. The wall was removed, the ancient image was made available to devotees and Dharmasvāmin could offer his worship to it to his heart's content. The king Buddhasena also reappeared on the scene along with his small force of 500 soldiers. Dharmasvāmin refers to the ruins of the stone gate in front of the Bodha-Gayā temple. This was also probably destroyed by the Muslims. Dharmasvāmin mentions a number of small temples in the courtyard of the Vajrāsana shrine, which were apparently undamaged.

The general impression that Nālandā was completely destroyed by the beginning of the 13th century is not confirmed by Dharmasvāmin's account. He had lived there for about six months and gives us an eye witness's account. Nālandā was still in existence, but was a mere ghost of its past glory. Once it had seven temples and 14 big and 84 small monasteries. Dharmasvāmin tells us that they were damaged by the Muslims and there

was none to look after them or to make offerings (p. 90). Only two Vihāras called Dha-na-ba and Ghu-na-ba were in a serviceable condition. The surrounding wall of the establishment still existed with its eastern and western gates; they were decorated with paintings of Tārā and other deities near the entrances (p. 93). Thousands of monks belonging to the establishment had fled away, but the chief abbot Rāhula-śrī-Bhadra continued to reside and had declined to flee. He was an old man of more than 90 and probably felt that he should die at his post. At the time of Dharmasvāmin's visit there were 70 monk scholars reading under him, being supported by king Buddhaesna of Bodha-Gayā and a rich lay Brāhmaṇa disciple named Jayadeva living at Odantapuri or Bihar Sharif.

If we are to believe the account of Dharmasvāmin, the partial survival of Nālandā was due to the superstitious fears of the Muslims. During their earlier depredations, the Muslims had destroyed the temple of Jñānanātha within the precincts of Nālandā and carried away its stones probably to Odantapuri for building mosques there. They desecrated the image by throwing filth at it. One of the soldiers, who participated in the desecration, died the same evening of colic pain on reaching Odantapuri. For sometime after this event the Muslim soldiers were afraid to attack Nālandā (p. 94).

This incident however must have served only as a temporary deterrent, as Dharmasvāmin's own account of what happened during his stay will show. The partial survival of Nālandā was probably due to the following causes :—

(1) The establishment had not many stone structures, which could supply stone for the erection of mosques.

(2) It was too big to be thoroughly destroyed in one effort.

(3) Nālandā was not, like Vikramaśilā, on the high way leading from Delhi to Bengal, and so the work of completing its destruction required a special expedition.

(4) Of its numerous temples and monasteries, two monasteries were in a serviceable condition in 1235 A.D.. So when the first avalanche of Muslim invasion was over, a few monks, about a hundred in number, returned with their head abbot to stay

at the establishment, hoping that they would now be left undisturbed. Practically the whole province had been over-run by the Muslims and the constant danger of their harassment was present every where. Why then not stay in a place, which could at least afford some good accommodation for a limited number and was hallowed by its earlier associations ?

In the summer of 1235 A.D. Nālandā suffered further from Muslim depredations. A military force had been stationed at Odantapurī (Bihar Sharif) and its commanding officer suddenly put into prison Brāhmaṇa Jayadeva, a lay disciple of the town. Jayadeva however learnt in his captivity that a fresh attack was contemplated on Nālandā and managed to smuggle out a message from his jail to the Abbot Rāhula-śrī-Bhadra, advising him to flee.¹ On the receipt of this message all the seventy disciples fled away leaving the old Guru and his Tibetan disciple. The Guru urged the foreign pilgrim to go away, saying 'If you do not flee away, you would be killed'. Eventually both decided to quit, the pupil carrying his Guru on his shoulders, along with rice, sugar and some books. They however only shifted to the temple of Jñānanātha in whose miraculous powers to save his devotees the Guru had an implicit faith. This temple was to the south-west of the Nālandā establishment. While they were staying there, suddenly some 300 Muslim soldiers appeared, armed and ready to fight. 'Though they were sure to kill them, they did not find them and went back' (p. 94). This party might have wrought further devastation at Nālandā, though Dharmasvāmin is silent upon the point.

Apparently the Guru and his Tibetan pupil continued to stay in Nālandā during the ensuing rainy season after the departure of the Muslim soldiery. The text is not clear on the point. In one place Dharmasvāmin says, 'The Paṇḍita himself having gone to Magadha, it occurred to me that I should meet him there' (p. 95). When he took final leave of his Guru, he was apparently only one day's journey from the Ganga ferry.

1. Apparently Jayadeva was released from captivity along with two other prisoners after the contemplated raid on Nālandā was carried out (p. 84).

This would suggest that both of them had shifted from Nālandā to some place near the Ganga. But towards the end of the 9th chapter we read of Dharmasvāmin's completing his studies at Nālandā, when he asked his Guru's permission to depart. This would suggest that both of them were living at Nālandā, probably in the temple of Jñānanātha. Which of these alternative possibilities represents the reality, we do not know.

Dharmasvāmin does not refer to the libraries at Nālandā, nor did he get any MSS copied there. The library buildings seem to have been destroyed earlier than 1235 A. D. The monks who were staying at Nālandā had however a few MSS with them.

SECTION VII

Religious and Social Conditions

Dharmasvāmin was a pious pilgrim and his work gives a fairly good glimpse of the contemporary religious condition of India and Nepāla. Buddhism was definitely on the decline in Magadha in the second quarter of the 13th century. Though himself a Buddhist, Dharmasvāmin observes that in India non-Buddhists were numerous, Śrāvakas (i.e. Hīnayānists) were few and Mahāyānists still fewer (p. 87). This statement however goes against our general impression that the Mahāyāna was in the ascendancy as compared with the Hīnayāna at this period. We should, however, not forget that Dharmasvāmin had visited only Bodha-Gayā, Rājagriha and Nālandā. Of these Nālandā was practically a deserted place, Rājagriha had probably a small Buddhist colony and Bodha-Gayā was under the predominant influence of the Ceylonese monks, who were all Hīnayānists. Dharmasvāmin has pointed out that the Ceylonese monks, 300 in number, were in charge of the worship at Mahābodhi temple and no one other than they, could sleep in the courtyard of the main temple. This is partly confirmed by a contemporary inscription of Aśokachalla, dated in the year 51 of the Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat, which makes a provision for daily offerings and adds that they were to be given by the members of the Siṅghala Saṁgha

at Mahābodhi i.e. Bodha-Gayā.¹ It is probably on account of the domination of the Hīnayānist Ceylonese monks at Bodha-Gayā that Dharmasvāmin makes the statement that the Mahāyānists were less numerous than the Śrāvakas in India.

Buddhist and Hindu Sanyāsins continued to inspire considerable respect in society. If a strip of red cloth was found on the road, it was reverentially picked up by the public. Priests in charge of Buddhist temples had acquired a certain notoriety for their exactions. Dharmasvāmin observes that the stone foot-print of the Buddha at Bodha-Gayā were not enclosed in a temple in order to let all people have an opportunity of paying their respects to them. Says Dharmasvāmin, 'Formerly it was intended to build a chapel over the foot-prints, but learned Paṇḍitas were of opinion that if a chapel were built, it would require a door and a sacristan (priest) who would ask remuneration (from worshippers) and the number of devotees (who would come to see the foot prints) would become less and thus a chapel was not built' (p. 72). As pointed out already, the privilege of being the official priests of the Mahābodhi temple had now passed on to the Ceylonese monks. This is an interesting development. In the 4th century A.D. for the first time a monastery was built for Ceylonese monks by the Ceylonese king Meghavarna with the permission of Samudragupta. This facilitated the entry and residence of a Buddhist colony from Ceylon. We have some lithic records at Bodha-Gayā showing that Buddhist monks from Ceylon continued to come and stay at Mahābodhi, install images and make endowments during the intervening centuries also, as is made clear by the Patna Museum Inscription of Prakhyātakīrti, a scion of the royal family of Laṅkā² (c. 500 A.D.), the Bodha-Gayā Inscription of Mahānāman³ (c. 588-9 A.D.) and the Udayatrī records from Sinhala dated c. 12th century.⁴ How Ceylonese Buddhist monks acquired

1. *E.I.*, XII, 29 ; cf. नैवेद्यार्थं ये केचित् श्रीमन्महाबोधौ सिंघलसंघाद-यस्तैः प्रत्यहं देयं ।

2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1908-9 p. 156 ; *JBORS*, IV, p. 408.

3. *C.I.L.*, III, p. 279

4. *JBORS.*, V, p. 147

a vested interest in the temple and became its privileged and exclusive priests is a mystery. Nor do we know how they lost that right.

The procedure of the image worship in Buddhist temples of Bihar and Nepāla was at this time very similar to that in Hindu shrines. The Pañchāmṛita-snāna or the bath in curds, milk, honey, sugar and ghee had become quite common in the Buddhist temples; only its constituents sometimes differed. In Nepāla, both sugar and raw sugar (*gur*) were used, and ghee was omitted. In the unsettled condition of Bihar, when everybody was apprehensive of a Muslim attack at any moment, Dharmasvāmin could naturally see no such chariot procession (Rathayātrā) of the Buddhist images, as were witnessed by Fa Hian. But he refers to their popularity in the earlier days of Chandra gomin and Chandrakīrti. There was a convention that in the Rathayātrā procession, none but the image could ride in a conveyance. There used to be a special image for the procession and it was generally woden (pp. 54-9). We learn from our pilgrim that the Rathayātrā was common in Nepāla; the image was taken out in a great procession on the eighth day in autumn. What followed, however, has no parallel in Hinduism. After this ceremonial procession, the image used to be invited every day by a different devotee, and was offered the Pañchāmṛita-snāna and other offerings. This went on for one full month and then the image was reinstalled in its proper place after being painted once more to counteract the effects of the daily Pañchāmṛita-snāna.

To judge from the accounts of Dharmasvāmin, Bodha-Gayā was a strong-hold of Hīnayāna Buddhism and Nālandā of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tantricism. The Ceylonese Hīnayānist priests of the Bodha-Gayā temple had no soft corner for the Tibetan Tāntrikas and Mahāyānists. When Dharmasvāmin entered the Mahābodhi temple, the priest enquired about the MS he was carrying in his hand. When he was told that it was *Aṣṭapāramitā*, the priest asked him to throw it away in the river. He pointed out to him that Mahāyāna was not preached by the Buddha and to worship Khasarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara was illogical,

for he was a mere householder and had not even renounced the world (p. 74). Though criticised this way, Dharmasvāmin certifies that the Hīnayānists in India were kinder than the Tibetan Buddhists (p. 87).

The Mahāyāna goddess Tārā was, however, popular even in Bodha-Gayā and the Mahāyānists narrated many stories about her, not at all complimentary to the Hīnayānists. A Hīnayānist, while negotiating a river in floods, was being carried away. As a last resort he invoked the Mahāyānist deity Tārā, crying out in distress 'Tārā, Tārā.' The Goddess appeared in the middle of the river and said, "When you were well, you did not remember me. Now when you are in peril you shout out, Tārā, Tārā. Get out." The goddess indicated the road by her right hand and the water subsided upto the waist and the man was saved. The goddess then transformed herself into a stone image, which was brought to and enshrined in a temple, and was named as Tārā of the river (p. 75).^o The story is of course a cock and bull story invented to explain the name, but gives us an idea of the feelings of some Mahāyānists and Hīnayānists towards one another. There were two other Tārā images; one was known as Hāhā Tārā, because with the exclamation Hāhā she drove away a demon tormenting a devotee. The most interesting anachronism is, however, represented by the temple of laughing Tārā at Bodha-Gayā. The contemporaries of Dharmasvāmin believed that this image represented the goddess as defiantly laughing at Māra, when he tried to threaten the Buddha at the time of his enlightenment. Little did the simple folk know that the goddess Tārā was unknown to Buddhism in the life time of the Buddha.

Dharmasvāmin was the son of a Tāntrika and he himself knew some imprecatory formulae (p. 56) and knew how to draw ordinary and coloured Maṇḍalas (p. 48). His account shows that the Tāntric religion was in ascendancy in the Buddhism of Bihar in his time. He refers to a Siddha living for three years in a hole under the Stūpa at Grīdhra-kūṭa, who could not be harmed by the wild beasts (p. 87). He refers to two individual Siddhas. One of these was Naropā who had flourished between 975 and 1025 A.D.; his hermitage was in a forest north of Nālandā,

but naturally in a dilapidated condition, the second Siddha was Viravāpā who miraculously broke the image of Somanātha in South Bihar by invoking Amitābha. His date is not known.

Dharmasvāmin narrates how Chandragomin meditated for seven days on Guhyasamāja and how Avalokiteśvara then manifested himself before him (p. 91). Nālandā had one temple of Saṃvara, a Tāntric deity (p. 98). The most popular deities at Nālandā in the days of Dharmasvāmin were Khasarapaṇa Avalokiteśvara installed in the royal Vihāra of Bālāditya (p. 91), Mañjuśrī, Jñānanātha and Tārā.

Life in Nālandā in the late medieval period was far from austere. On the campus there was an image of Tārā without ornaments and this fact was explained by the story that the goddess gave away all her jewellery as the fee for a troop of singers and dancers, who had stayed at Nālandā for a fortnight for the entertainment of the monks who however were unable to pay them adequately (p. 92).

Rāhula-śrī-Bhadra, the chief abbot of Nālandā, was provided with a bed and curtain by his disciple Jayadeva. Within the curtain there was a lamp to enable him to read at night and a fan to counteract the oppressive heat (p. 90). We have, however, no reason to conclude that the mosquitoes in Nālandā were less numerous than what they are now; the curtain and the bed were therefore a sheer necessity for the abbot, who was more than 90 years in age.

The Buddhist monks could not take wine, but were permitted to take the juice of pomegranates.

According to Dharmasvāmin the main points of difference between Buddhism and Hinduism were the following :—

(1) Offering of sacrifices involving slaughter. On two occasions Dharmasvāmin narrates how a large number of cattle were slaughtered before the images of Kālī and Mahādeva; sometimes they were even roasted alive (pp. 82-3; 96).

(2) Hindus were blamed by the Buddhists for inflicting

injury on living animals, which they thought was the surest way of damnation (p. 82.)

(3) Buddhist further felt that the Hindus had no proper method of salvation and were grievously wrong in their belief in a real personality or soul (p. 96):

These bickerings were probably confined to theologians ; the average Buddhists and Hindus lived in amity. Dharmasvāmin no doubt states that an image of Maheśvara was painted outside on the door of the Mahābodhi temple to protect it from the non-Buddhists (p. 64). This may be really due to an effort at synthesis, rather than to an apprehension of attack from the Hindus, as some may have represented it to our pilgrim. Dharmasvāmin visited the Hindu temple of Kālī and the Hindus also must have revered the Buddhist temples. Much earlier than 1236 A. D., the Buddha had been transformed into an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Hindus, says Dharmasvāmin, gave alms to Buddhist monks ; one of the main supporter of Rāḥula-śrī-Bhadra, the last abbot of Nālandā, was a Brāhmaṇa lay disciple at Odantapurī, named Jayadeva. Rāmasimha, the Hindu Rājā of Tirhut, asked Dharmasvāmin to become his chaplain. When he expressed his inability to do so, the king gave him a number of valuable presents (p. 100).

Our pilgrim's account throws considerable interesting light on contemporary social conditions and institutions. Untouchability was in full swing. When Dharmasvāmin on one occasion found himself being carried away by a stream, he called for help from a person on the bank ; he, however, expressed inability on the plea that he was an untouchable. Untouchables did not pierce their ears. Food seen by them could not be eaten.

People were accustomed to touch the gate of a temple with their forehead while entering it; the central stone of the eastern gate at Bodha-Gayā had become smooth on account of this constant friction (p. 92).

The relation between the Guru and the disciple was considered to be similar to that of the father and the son. 'Father and son will surely meet again', says Guru Ravindra, when he expresses the hope that Dharmasvāmin will return safe from the

journey (p. 57). Disciples used to present small bells to their Gurus as mark of their respect at the time of taking farewell. Ratnarakshita of the border monastery between Tibet and Nepāla had 300 such bells.

Nepalese Hindus did not lag behind the Indian Hindus in their anxiety to consign the remains of the dead to the Ganga (p. 59); in the group of 300 persons, who were travelling with Dharmasvāmin, there were many going to the south for this purpose.

Solitary travel was difficult and dangerous; there was the apprehension of attack by wild animals and organised robbers. The boats that were taking passengers across the Ganga were big ones, sufficient to accommodate 300 persons.

Pān-eating was quite common. Dharmasvāmin gives an interesting description of how it was mixed with the ashes of burnt cowries, perfumed with scents and then kept in cloth for two days before being eaten. In Mithilā ashes of burnt cowries are still used in place of *chunam*; and the 'scents' referred to by Dharmasvāmin probably included *katthā*. Pāns are often kept wound up in a wet piece of cloth to ensure longer preservation in the summer; our author probably refers to this custom when he says that pāns were kept wound up in cloth for two days before they were eaten. Our author refers to the use of *sortsi* (*surti*) as a tooth paint.

About currency our pilgrim states that a *paṇa* was equal to 80 cowries. This ratio was in vogue for several centuries.

SECTION VIII

Light on Geography and Topography

Dharmasvāmin's work gives considerable information about the geography of Bihar, but it is often confused owing to the uncertainty of the length of a 'stage'. Vaiśālī to Bodha-Gayā is about 70 miles and Dharmasvāmin states that the distance was of eight 'stages'. This suggests that a 'stage' was about eight miles. This conclusion is confirmed by the statement stating that Odantapuri or modern Bihar Sharif is at a distance of one stage to the east of Nālandā (p. 63). On page 53, however,

We read that at its widest point three months were needed to cross the kingdom of Tirhut and that at its narrowest point, the distance was of 20 stages. This would mean that the greatest length of the Tirhut kingdom was 720 miles, which is hardly likely to be correct. Even when Rāmasimha's great grandfather Nānyaḍeva had annexed portions of Nepāla, the kingdom was not so extensive. Similarly Vaiśālī being 20 stages (160 miles) at its longest part and eight stages (64 miles) at its narrowest part is not likely to be correct. Probably the information about the extent of the kingdom was based upon hearsay reports and was therefore not correct. The distance between Vaiśālī and Bodha-Gayā was actually crossed by him and the information was therefore accurate. We may, therefore, conclude that a stage was about 8 to 9 miles.

It is curious to note that the term Yojana is used by Dharmasvāmin for a very short distance. Usually it is taken to be seven or eight miles; but our author says that the Nirañjanā was one Yojana from the Vajrāsana temple and Gridhrakūṭa three Yojanas from Rājagriha. These distances were actually crossed by Dharmasvāmin. His Yojana was hardly a mile.

When Dharmasvāmin entered India, he came across three mountain ranges. Of these Rīshīśirsha mountain was high and the rest were low ranges. We have only two mountain ranges in Northern Bihar, Someśvara to the north of Champaran and Dūn hill to the south of Someśvara. The former is 42 miles long and its height ranges from 2884 to 3000 feet. Dūn hill is only 20 miles in length and very low. What was regarded as the 3rd hill was probably an offshoot of Someśvara. The statement that the Rīshīśirsha mountain extended upto Vaiśālī (p. 61) is incorrect, for the Someśvara hill does not extend upto that town.

The hills referred to by our pilgrim are in the vicinity of Raxaul and it is thus clear that Dharmasvāmin had taken the usual route from Kathmandu to India which even now passes via that town.

From Raxaul area Dharmasvāmin went to a city named Pa-ṭa. This was the capital of the kingdom of Tirhut and had

a royal palace of 11 gates, all of which except one, had been seen by our pilgrim. The palace was protected by 21 ditches (p. 58). The name of the king is given as Rāmasimha. It is clear that our author is referring to the capital of the Kārṇāṭa kingdom founded by Nānyadeva in 1097 A.D.; Rāmasimha was his great grandson. The capital of this kingdom was Simārāmapura (Simraongarh) and was on the border of India and Nepāla. Why our author calls it Paṭa is difficult to understand. The town was probably also known Paṭṭaṇa (meaning capital in Sanskrit) and Paṭa of Dharmasvāmin may be an abbreviation of Paṭṭaṇa. His statement that this city had six lakhs of families is obviously a gross exaggeration; perhaps city here may be mistake for the kingdom. From Simraon our pilgrim proceeded straight to the south and reached Vaiśālī. This distance between two places is about 60 miles, as the crow flies, and Dharmasvāmin naturally had to spend six 'stages' to reach Vaiśālī. The pilgrim refers to the uninhabited border of the city; it would appear that either most of the city was deserted or there was a forest in its vicinity. Buddhist works refer to Mahāvana to the north of Vaiśālī.

From Vaiśālī Dharmasvāmin proceeded straight to the south to Bodha-Gayā and reached it in eight days. He thus covered about 70 miles during that period. On the way he had to cross the Ganga, but he does not say where he did it. Probably he crossed the river near modern Hajipur and landed at the site of modern Patna. The city must have been in complete ruins; that is probably the reason why he does not refer to it at all.

To the south of the Ganga lay the kingdom of Magadha. Magadha has been the subject of caustic remarks from the Vedic to the Smṛiti period. To the Tibetans, however, it was the holy land and we find Dharmasvāmin giving a number of flattering derivations of the name. It was regarded as the centre of the world (*madhyām gatim dhārayati*). It was called Madhya or central by the Buddhists because it was famous for its scholarship, reflection and meditation, a border region being characterised by the absence of learning (p. 63).

Magadha was a small kingdom in the days of our pilgrim;

it had only 1512 villages. Bodha-Gayā was its capital and was situated in its centre ; it extended 60 Yojanas i. e. 60 miles in all directions.

BODHA-GAYA

Dharmasvāmin's observation about the topography of the Mahābodhi temple are interesting and useful ; He states that the Nirañjanā was a Yojana or about a mile to its east. The actual distance today is about half a mile. The bed of the river is however wide and the flow of the water may have been near the eastern bank ; and the distance could then have been nearly a mile.

He narrates the story (pp. 67-3) of three Brāhmaṇa brothers being converted to Buddhism by God Maheśvara on the Himalayas and proceeding to build Buddha temples at Rājgriha, Vārāṇasī and Bodha-Gayā. The same story is given by Yuan Chwang, but in a shorter version. The legend about the making of the image in the Mahābodhi temple is narrated by both the pilgrims. The mother of the three brothers asked them to keep all material ready in the sanctuary and close it for a week, and assured them that the image would be found to be ready at the end of the period. The brothers, however, opened the door a day earlier and found the image all ready except for the little toe of the right foot (p. 69). In the version of Yuan Chwang, the door was to be kept closed for six months, but was opened 4 days earlier and the image was found complete except for one little piece above the right breast. The image had a headdress (*Ushnīṣha*) and was in the Bhūmisparśamudrā according to Dharmasvāmin (p. 69). The present day image is in the Bhūmisparśamudrā but it has no headdress ; the head is bare and has curly hair. Cunningham's *Mahābodhi* has a Buddha image as frontispiece satisfying the description of Dharmasvāmin ; the image seen by our pilgrim was probably similar to it. If our pilgrim is not narrating an old story, but describing the image he actually saw, we shall have to conclude that the present day image is different from the one seen by him and has been installed in its place subsequently. The new Archaeological Museum at Bodha-Gayā has about half a

dozen images, satisfying the pilgrim's description. It appears that the images with *ushnīṣa* were common in 10th and 11th centuries at Gaya and places around, and our pilgrim did see such an image in the temple. He had gazed on the image for hours together and is not likely to have committed any mistake about the head dress.

The information given by our pilgrim about the Mahābodhi temple is only partly correct. It may be pointed out that this temple is not mentioned by Fa Hian, but Yuan Chwang describes it in detail and gives its height as 160 feet, which is nearly correct. Our pilgrim states that it was only 35 cubits or $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. This is obviously due to a scribal mistake ; for he states that the spire of the temple was visible from a distance of two stages, i.e. 16 miles. The surrounding wall round the temple referred to by our pilgrim must have disappeared in later times, probably owing to natural causes. He had heard the tradition that Aśoka had encased the earlier temple and built the present one (p. 79). Probably this refers to the Vajrāsana structure and not to the Mahābodhi temple, as asserted by the tradition reported to our pilgrim. Archaeological excavations carried out by Cunningham have proved that the Vajrāsana structure goes back to the Aśokan age.¹ There were no temples in the days of Aśoka.

In the present Mahābodhi temple, in front of the Garbhagriha, which enshrines the image, there is an ante-chamber 12' x 7', and then a small Maṇḍapa 15' x 16'. Dharmasvāmin states that when the Muslim attack was apprehended, they had concealed the ancient image by building a wall in its front. In this way they converted the ante-chamber into a temporary Garbhagriha and installed a new image there, which they did not mind falling a victim to iconoclastic fury. Before the arrival of our pilgrim, the ancient image had been damaged and the emeralds removed from its eye-sockets by Muslim soldiers (p. 70).

Our pilgrim states that behind the temple at the foot of the Bodhi tree and supported by its two trunks was the symbol of the Viśva-vajra, half a Yojana in size and that in the centre

1. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 4-7.

of this Vajra, was the Bodhi tree (p. 66). Yojana according to our author, was even less than a mile, but a symbol about half a mile in length is difficult to conceive.⁹ Probably he is referring to the traditional belief and not to any actually existing symbol. Yuan Chwang states that in his days the Vajrāsana was covered with sand and could not be seen. One can hardly imagine that the pious Buddhists would ever have allowed the sands of flood to conceal the Vajrāsana for years; probably Yuan Chwang is referring to the mythical Viśva-vajra symbol, which was naturally not visible anywhere. It may be added that there are many temples at present in India built in or near riverbeds, which are annually flooded by the sandy or alluvial deposits. These are promptly removed when the floods recede; images or holy symbols are never allowed to be covered with sand or alluvial deposits for years together.

In the days of our pilgrim the Bodhi tree had two trunks and was inside a fort-like structure surrounded on the south, west and north by a brick wall; the entrance was from the east. At present the Bodhi tree has only one trunk and there is only an apology for a surrounding structure. It has no walls on the south, east and north; there is a small wall to the west of the Bodhi tree, 6' 6" high and 5' 5" broad with a small door in the middle. The fort-like structure seen by our pilgrim has disappeared due either to natural causes or to human vandalism. According to Yuan Chwang the railing round the Bodhi tree, constructed by Aśoka, was 10' high. When it was destroyed by Śaśāṅka, Pūrṇavarman built a new one, 24 feet high. Perhaps our pilgrim might have seen this railing.

Our pilgrim states that inside the railing there were twenty stone pillars, but he does not indicate their location more precisely. The *chaṅkramaṇa* path (platform for walking) of the Buddha to the north of the temple was once covered by a pavillion supported by 22 pillars, bases of 11 only being visible now on the northern side. Probably Dharmasvāmin is referring to these pillars, but wrongly giving their number as 20 instead of 22. The bases of eleven pillars of the *chaṅkramaṇa* path to the southern side are no longer visible. To judge from the distance on the north

side, the bases of the pillars on the south side should have been 3' away from the *chaṅkramaṇa* structure. But the northern wall of the Bodhi temple is only two feet to the south of the *chaṅkramaṇa* passage; most probably it was extended further north and is now covering the bases of the row of eleven pillars to the south of the *chaṅkramaṇa* path. The pillars seem to have been destroyed subsequent to the visit of our pilgrim.

Our pilgrim gives a detailed description of the stone railing which impressed him considerably. He has stated that it was built by Ārya Nāgārjuna, which is of course incorrect. Inscriptions on the railing pillars show that it was built by Queen Kuraṅgī the wife of king Indrāgnimitra, who flourished in the second century B.C. The stone railing was similar to a wall. The open space between the railings, which is 2' 6', could accommodate a young Tibetan bullock and the breadth of the railing stone which is about three feet, was equal to that of a middlesized Tibetan column. It was so well built that a mad bull could not destroy it. Its top was covered by a stone netting, and the foundation was well built with stones. The stone work of the foundation was easy to sweep; it was well polished, and so did not require plastering (p. 70). The pilgrim's statement that the railing was circular is, however, incorrect; it is rectangular.

In front of the eastern gate, Dharmasvāmin saw the footprints of the Buddha on stone. Even today we have a stone at this place with footprints of the Buddha. The present stone foot-prints are, however not the same as those seen by Dharmasvāmin, for their stone is round and not square in section, as observed by our pilgrim. Its diameter is about 3 feet; the square foot prints seen by the pilgrim were 3 feet each side. In the present enclosure of the temple there are two other stone foot-prints behind the temple near the Bodhi tree; they are probably later, as they are not referred to by Dharmasvāmin.

The pilgrim refers to a lamp-pillar, *diḥastambha* near the stone footprints; it is no longer there. He then refers to the ruins of a gateway built by Hayagrīva to the east of the footprints. This gateway still exists but seems to have been

partly damaged and repaired after 1236 A. D. The lower portion of the northern pillar, which was broken, has subsequently been replaced by a plain uncarved stone. The gate sculpture is medieval in type and therefore we can well understand why Yuan Chwang does not refer to this gateway; it did not exist in his days. The gateway might have been ruined either by the natural causes or by the Muslim invaders.

In the days of Dharmasvāmin, the extensive court yard had gates on the east, north and west, but none on the south. Following this tradition our pilgrim states that the Tibetan Vihāras have no gates on the south. The Tibetan intercourse with Buddhist India is not earlier than c. 700 A.D.; and so we can well understand the Tibetan convention. In the days of Yuan Chwang, however, the courtyard had a gate on the south but none on the west.¹

The monasteries were in front of the northern gate, as is the case now, and was also the case in the days of Yuan Chwang. The Vihāras in the days of Dharmasvāmin were twelve in number and had only 60 monks. They were small structures and their accommodation varied from 6 to 15 each. In the days of Yuan Chang there was in existence the extensive Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma, accommodating 1,000 ecclesiastics of the Mahāyāna Sthavira school.²

The Animesha Chaitya to the north of the *chanikramaṇa* on a flat rock, the Ratnagriha Chaitya at the back of the Vajrāsana and the four Stūpas in the four corners of the enclosure which are mentioned by Yuan Chwang do not figure in our pilgrim's account. The present tradition describes a temple to the east-north-east of the *Chanikramaṇa* path as Animesha temple, and another to its north-north-west as the Ratnagriha temple; their locations do not agree with those given by the Chinese pilgrim. The present Animesha temple is on a high eminence; whether there is a rock below it we cannot say. In the Mahābodhi enclosure, there are four circular bases in four corners;

1. Watter, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 113

2. Watter, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 136

they are probably the plinths of the four Stūpas seen in four corners by Yuan Chwang. The Bhagarāhula Stūpa on the bank of the Nirañjanā attributed to Aśoka and the emaciated image of the Buddha situated at a distance of two arrowshots from the Mahābodhi temple are referred to by our pilgrim (pp. 79.80) but do not exist now. Either natural causes or iconoclastic vandalism may have been responsible for the disappearance of all these monuments.

Yuan Chwang's description of the temple and its halls is more detailed and seems to refer to the structure now at Bodha-Gayā with a few variations. According to the Chinese pilgrim the spire of the temple was 160 feet high with a front breadth at the base of about 37 feet. This is approximately true of the present temple. The temple, says Yuan Chwang, was made of bricks and coated in lime; it has tiers of niches with gold images; its four walls were adorned with exquisite carvings. All this is substantially true of the present temple.

When Yuan Chwang tells us that connected with the east side of the temple were three lofty halls one behind the other and that an open passage through them communicated with the inner chamber, he is obviously referring to the present structure, which satisfies this description; only we have to understand the porch by the easternmost hall. The roofs of these halls seem to have undergone subsequent repairs and remodellings; they show no wood work adorned with carvings. Yuan Chwang does not refer to the four subsidiary shrines of the present temple; they were probably added later.

RAJAGRIHA

From our pilgrim's account we learn that old Rājagriha situated within the hills existed in his days. There were about 600 to 800 houses in it (p. 89). He locates Veluvana on a marshy land and on the northern side of a hill running from east to west. Apparently there was a Stūpa in it ascribed to Aśoka.

GRIDHRAKŪṬA

This peak was surrounded by a thick forest full of snakes and tigers. It was not safe to go to it except in a large group and with conches, cymbals, bows and arrows. The peak was

fairly steep at the top. Dharmasvāmin saw here a terraced Stūpa in front of which was the spot where tradition said that the Buddha used to preach.

NALANDA

The dilapidated condition of this University has been already described in Section VI before ; we shall here refer to some geographical topics and topographical details. The Tibetans called this place Narendra because it was built by a former Rājā. Probably it is a Tibetan derivation based upon a popular *apabhraṃśa* of Nālandā. Our pilgrim states that it was situated on the further bank of the Ganga¹ and at a distance of about two days to the south west of the Vajrāsana. Both these statements are wrong. Nālandā is not situated on the bank of the Ganga. It is not to the south-west of Bodha-Gayā, but Bodh-Gayā is to its south-west.

The pilgrim refers to Śītavana cemetery infested by serpents as being to the north-west of Nālandā (p. 85).

As to the topographical details, our pilgrim states, "It (Nālandā) had seven great lofty pinnacles in the centre. On the outside towards the north, stood fourteen lofty pinnacles. Outside it there were about 80 small Vihāras'. Possibly the seven great lofty pinnacles in the centre were the structures in the Stūpa row, the remnants of four of which can be seen at present. What can the 14 lofty pinnacles refer to? The pilgrim says that they were to the north of the seven great lofty pinnacles. Had he given the direction as east, we could have identified these 14 structures with the big monasteries, the remnants of eleven of which have been so far exposed by modern excavations. Outside these fourteen pinnacles, says our pilgrim, there were about 800 small Vihāras. Modern exploration or excavations have found no traces of them so far.

The visitor to the Nālandā excavations is struck by the fact that while there are good residential arrangements in the monasteries, they have no kitchens, store rooms, bath rooms and dining halls. Monks could not have lived without these amenities. Can it be that the 84 small Vihāras of our pilgrim refer to the kitchens,

1. Did the pilgrim mean, further away from the bank of the Gangā ?

store-rooms and dining halls, which were built away from the residential quarters and to which the monks retired at the meal time? It is worthwhile making a search for these structures among the ruins. Probably they have been already robbed by brick-robbers.

Dharmasvāmin's work is thus of considerable importance for the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of Bihar. It throws welcome and valuable light on a number of important topics. I am, therefore, grateful to Dr. G. Roerich for kindly undertaking the translation of this work at my request. I have no doubt that the research workers in the field of Indian History will welcome the work with great enthusiasm.

The Bihar Research Society, Patna, is the owner and custodian of the photo-negatives of the MSS. brought from Tibet by Tripīṭakāchārya Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, one of which has been utilised for the publication of this work. The K. P. Jāyaswal Research Institute desires to express its indebtedness to the Society for placing the photographs of this work at its disposal for their decipherment and publication.

1-3-1959

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INTRODUCTION OF THE EDITOR

The life story or *ṛnam-thar* of Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal, translator Dharmasvāmin, (1197-1264 A D.) is of particular interest. The author belongs to a line¹ of *lo-tsā-bas* or translators, who had studied in India and had mastered Sanskrit. Chag lo-tsā-ba witnessed the Muslim inroads into Tirhut (Tirabhukti) and Magadha, and saw the last days of the great Vihāra of Nālandā, and his account conveys to us something of the anxiety of those days.

Chag lo-tsā-ba's life-story exists in manuscript form only, and is little known in Tibet, though the author was well-known in the Mongol period, and Tibetan writers of the 14th-15th centuries made use of it. The present manuscript was discovered by Pandit Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana, that indefatigable Buddhist scholar and explorer, in the monastery of sNar-than in the gTsan Province of Central Tibet during his 1936 expedition to that country. A photostatic copy of the manuscript was brought back and is now preserved in the rich Tibetan Collection of the Library of the Bihar Research Society in Patna.

To a great extent the life story (*ṛnam-thar*) of Chag lo-tsā-ba is an autobiography, for Chag lo-tsā-ba dictated his account to a disciple, who took down the lo-tsā-ba's words, and the text of the life story (*ṛnam-thar*) consists largely of quotations. This was and still is a common practice among Tibetan scholars and many of the existing life stories and even "Histories of the Droctrine", the so-called *cho's-byun*,² were originally dictated and committed to writing by disciples, and this accounts for a difference in style and wording observable in many of the *chos-'biun*. The names of the scribes are often given in the colophons at the end of the books. The Life story of Chag lo-tsā-ba was taken down by the *upāsaka* Chos-dar (Chos-dpal-dar-dpyan)

1. brgyud-pa, *paramparā*.

2. Dharmodbhva, "The Origin of the Dharma (Buddhism)."

at the monastery of 'Ju'-phu in Yar-kluñs,¹ and is given in the colophon.

The text of the *rnam-thar* (life story) is in the cursive script written in the so-called *bsdus-yig* where two adjacent words are combined into one (e.g. *rein* for *rin-chen*, *zatna*). Certain peculiarities of orthography seem to indicate that the copyist, if not Chos-dar himself, must have been a native of Khams. Instead of the prefix 'm' the text has an 'a-chuñ', e.g. 'jal, instead of the usual classical *mjal*, 'thon instead of *mthon*. This is a peculiarity of orthography often observed in manuscripts from Khams, or Eastern Tibet, and is due to the nasal pronunciation of the 'a-chuñ prefix peculiar to the Khams dialects.²

Chag Chos-rje-dpal, born in a Fire-Female-Serpent³ year (*me-me-sbrul*), or 1197 A. D.,⁴ was a nephew of Chag dGra-bcom (1153-1216 A. D.), a disciple of the learned sTeñs-ṙa lo-tsā-ba Tshul-khrims-'byuñ-gnas (1107-1190 A. D.),⁵ who had studied in India under the famous Tsa-mi Sañs-ragys-rgags-pa, a Tibetan Sanskrit scholar who attained the high distinction of being appointed one of the *dvāra-paṇḍitas* of the *Vihāra* of Vikramaśīlā, and some of whose Sanskrit compositions are still extant. Chag lo-tsā-ba's father was the the great scholar (*mahā-āchārya*) Dar-ma 'byuñ-gnas. The lo-tsā-ba's (translator's) birth-place is said to have been the castle Chag-groñ in Northern ITE'u-ra in Lower gñal (dbUs). An account of Chag-lo-tsā-ba's life is given by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gShon-nu-dpal (1392-1481 A. D.) in his chronicle *Deb-there-sñon-po*.⁶ 'Gos lo-tsā-ba must have seen the Chag lo-tsā-ba's *rnam-ihar*, for the short account of the lo-tsā-ba's (translator's) life given by him in his chronicle agrees with the text of the life story (*rnam-thar*).

1. Also written Yar-luñ.

2. See G. Roerich, "The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul, *Journal of the 'Urusvati' Himalayan Research Institute*, Naggar, 1934, p. 98.

3. In the ancient Tibetan chronicles, the years are indicated by the names of animals; the names of elements also were added as prefixes later. Hence this peculiar name of the year. The cycle of years adopted from 1027 A.D. was a sixty year cycle.

4. *Blue Annals* II, p. 1057. Sum-pamkhan-pa's Re'u-mig : 1097 A.D.

5. See his biography in the *Blue Annals*, transl. by G. Roerich, part II, pp. 1052-4.

6. *Blue Annals*, II, pp. 1057-9.

In his early youth Chag lo-tsā-ba stayed with his uncle Chag dGra-bcom, who initiated him into Sanskrit studies and the work of a lo-tsā-ba, or translator. The text especially mentions that he studied the Sanskrit-Tibetan vocabularies included in the bsTan-'gyur (section sNa-tshogs, Nos. 4346 and 4347), which embodied the rules of translating Buddhist texts into Tibetan laid down by the ancient Tibetan translators and approved by a special Tribunal, the so-called bCom-ldan-'das-kyi-rin-lugs-kyi-'dun-sa attached to the Royal Palace and established by king Khri-lde-sron-btsan Ral-pa-can (Keśarin) in the 9th century A.D.

After the death of Chag dGra-bcom in 1216 A.D., Chag lo-tsā-ba made preparations for his journey to Nepāla and India. He spent ten years in gTsañ visiting famous scholars. In Chag lo-tsā-ba's time the gTsañ Province was still the seat of Tibetan learning, maintaining a close contact with Buddhist scholars in Nepāla. About 1226 A.D. Chag lo-tsā-ba proceeded to Nepāla, and spent there eight full years. Thus he must have started his journey to India in or about 1234 A.D.

His visit to India falls in the reign of Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.) of the "Slave" dynasty. Chag lo-tsā-ba witnessed the constant Muslim incursions which followed the conquest of Bihar and Bengal by Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Muḥammad between 1193 and 1204-5. Bands of Turushka (Gar-log or Qarluq) soldiers roamed about the country side. Chag lo-tsā-ba describes the defensive measures taken by the inhabitants of Pattalā (Pa-ta of our text) in Tirhut. He found Vajrāsana in Magadha deserted. Chag lo-tsā-ba describes his meeting with the Rājā Buddhasena, whom he calls the ruling Rājā of Magadha who had his residence at Vajrāsana. Buddhasena is known to Tārānātha who adds that the local Śeṇa kings to whom Buddhasena belonged, professed allegiance to their Muslim overlord.¹ At Vajrāsana, Chag lo-tsā-ba found Śrāvakas in control of the temples. The great Vihāra of Vikramaśīlā, one of the seats of Tantric learning, was still existing in the time of Chag dGra-bcom, the uncle of the

1. Tārānātha, *Geschichte d. Buddhismus in India*, p. 256.

author (1153-1216 A.D.) and of the Kashmir Paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhaddra (1145-1225 A.D.), who had come to Magadha in about 1174 A.D. and who had been invited to Tibet by Khro-phulo'tsā-ba in 1203 A.D.¹ When our author Chag-lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal visited Magadha, there were no traces of it left, the Turushka soldiers having razed it to the ground and thrown the foundation stones into the Gaṅgā. The sack of Vikramaśilā must have taken place about 1199 or 1200 A.D. at the time of the conquest by Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Muḥammad. The Vihāra of Odantapurī, which was also destroyed at the time of the conquest, is mentioned only twice as the residence of a Turushka military commander.

From the account of Chag lo-tsā-ba it appears that the great Vihāra of Nālandā, though largely deserted and damaged, was still standing in 1235-6, and that scholastic activities continued, notwithstanding the constant perils of the time. At Nālandā Chag-lo-tsā-ba studied with the venerable Paṇḍita Rāhulaśrībhaddra and witnessed the arrival of Turushka soldiers. This Rāhulaśrībhaddra is mentioned by Tārānātha in his *rGya-gar-chos-'byun*, or "*History of Buddhism in India*"², who says that "In the reign of Buddhasena there lived in Nālandā a great Paṇḍita Rāhulaśrībhaddra, who had some seventy students."

Chag lo-tsā-ba stayed in Magadha for two full years until about 1236 A.D., and then returned to Tibet via Nepāla. He was persuaded to stay for some time at the monastery of Yañ-dog in Mañ-yul on the border of Nepāla, where he spent some four years. On his return to Tibet (in about 1240-1), Chag-lo-tsā-ba spent some time at the monasteries of Than-po-che, 'Ju'-phu and 'Phyos in Yar-kluñs. He spent some years at the great monastery of Sa-skya in gTsañ where he was invited by Śar-pa Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan and the Great Official or dPon-chen Kun-dga'-bzañ-po. This dpod-chen Kun-dga'-bzañ-pe is well known in Tibetan history. The nañ-se of Saskya accused him of conspiracy against Dharmarāja 'Phags-pa and a Mongol

1. Tucci, "*Tibetan Painted Scrolls*," II, pp. 335 and 611.

2. Tārānātha, *ibid*, p. 256.

detachment was sent to arrest him. The dPon-chen was captured in the fort of Bya-roq, and killed in 1281 A.D.¹

Khubilai, then an Imperial Prince in command of the Mongol troops in China, and the Dharmarāja 'Phags-pa (Gromgon 'Phags-pa, 1235-1280) extended an invitation to Chag-lo-tsā-ba to visit Mongolia and China. Another invitation was sent in 1256 A.D., and Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal started on the long journey to the North, but had to stay behind for reasons of health. He passed away at the monastery of lTe-u-ra in 1264 A.D.² This monastery still exists and is situated not far from the monastery of Dwags-lha-sgam-po in Lho-kha; it is now a small establishment with some ten resident monks, controlled by the dGe-lugs-pa sect. It has a fine collection of bronze and painted images.

In his account of his trip to India, Chag lo-tsā-ba gives a number of Indian words and expressions, and in every case is careful to translate them into Tibetan. Often he does not distinguish between classical Sanskrit and the spoken vernacular, and in doing so, reflects the general attitude of early medieval India that Sanskrit and the spoken vernacular were not considered to be distinct idioms but different aspects or styles of a single speech.³

Chag lo-tsā-ba participated in the translation of numerous short texts, *sādhana*s, *vidhi*s, etc. included in the bsTan-'gyur. The sDe-dge edition of the bsTan-'gyur contains the following texts :—

1. Kālachakrāvātāra-nāma, Tg.rGyud, 1383. This text Chag lo-tsā-ba translated with the assistance of Paṇḍita Rāhulaśrībhadra, his preceptor at Nālandā.

1. Tucci, "Tibetan Painted Scrolls," I, p. 16; II, p. 627.

2. The *nam-tham* (life story) states that Chag lo-tsā-ba died in a Wood-Mouse year, i.e. 1264 A.D. At that time the Dharmarāja 'Phags-pa was returning from Mongolia and China to Tibet, and the news of Chag lo-tsā-ba's demise was conveyed to him at 'Dam near Byaṅ gNam-mtsho, the Tengri-nūr of our maps. Sum-pa-mkhan-po places both events in 1265 A.D. a Wood-Ox year. See S. C. Das, "Life of Sum-pa-mkhan-po and his chronology of Tibet", *JASB*, 1889, p. 55.

3. See Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji's article "Al-Bīrūnī and Sanskrit" in the "*Al-Bīrūnī Commemoration Volume*", Calcutta, p. 88.

2. Amṛitakaṇikā nāma Ārya-nāmasaṃgītiṭippaṇi, Tg.rGyud, 1395.
3. Śrīdvibhujasaṃvarasādhana, Tg.rGyud, 1436.
4. Svādhiṣṭhānākramopadeśa-nāma, Tg.rGyud, 1500.
5. Sragdharāstotra, Tg.rGyud, 1691.
6. Karmāntavibhaṅga-nāma, Tg.rGyud, 1811.
7. Raktayamāntakasādhana, Tg.rGyud, 2017.
8. Balividhi, Tg.rGyud, 2610.
9. Raktayamārisādhanavidhi, Tg. rGyud, 2021.
10. Śrīraktayamārisādhana, Tg.rGyud, 2023.
11. Śrīraktayamārimaṇḍalavidhi, Tg.rGyud, 2024.
12. Kṛṣṇayamāriraktayamāriścha pūjavidhi, Tg.rGyud, 2028.
13. Raktayamāribalividhi, Tg.rGyud, 2030.
14. Raktayamārisādhana, Tg. rGyud, 2031.
15. Svādhiṣṭhānākramopadeśa-raktayamāntakābhīsamaya, Tg. rGyud, 2032.
16. Vajrayānasthūlapatti, Tg.rGyud, 2482.
17. Arapacahanasādhana, Tg.rGyud, 2714.
18. Lokeśvarasādhana, Tg.rGyud, 2850.
19. Pañcharakṣāvidhi, Tg.rGyud, 3596.
- Vajrāvali-nāma maṇḍalasādhana (upāyikā), Tg.rGyud, 3140.
21. Nishpannayogāvali-nāma, Tg.rGyud, 3141.
22. Jyotirmanjarī-nāma homopāyikā, Tg.rGyud, 3142.
23. Uchchhushma jambhalasādhana-nāma, Tg.rGyud, 3743.
24. Raktayamāriyantratattvanirdeśaka-nāma-sādhana, Tg.-rGyud, 2034. The Tohoku Catalogue gives the name of the translator as Choskyi-bzan-po, but in Cordier's Catalogue, LXXXI, 28, the translation is ascribed to Chag Chos-rje-dpal.
25. Svarodayalagnaphalopadeśa, Tg. rGyud, 4327.
In Cordier's Catalogue the translation of the following texts also is ascribed to Chag Chos-rje-dpal (Dharma-svāmīśrī).
26. Prabhāsodāyakrama, Catalogue, XLIII, 99.
27. Śrīchakrasaṃvarābhīsamaya-ṭikā, Catalogue, LXXIII, 58.
28. Prajñālokaśādhana, Catalogue, LXXIV, 4.

29. Piṇḍikramasādhana, Catalogue, LXXXI, 1.
30. Yamāntakayantravidhi, Catalogue, LXXXI, 30.

In identifying texts from the Tibetan bKa'-gyur and bsTan'-gyur Collections quoted in the text of the Life story (*nam-thar*), I availed myself of the Catalogue of the sDe-dge edition of the bKa'-gyur and bsTan'-gyur, published by the Tōhoku Imperial University (Sendai, 1934).

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George N. Roerich.

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TIBETAN TEXT

Chapter I.

Chag lo-tsā-ba'i rnam-thar 'Ju-ba Chos-dar-gyis mdzad-pa
 ño-mtshar-can yod¹//
 rGya-gar-skad-du/ Gu-ru-bāk-bi-ma-la-ā-ba-li-nā-ma/
 Bod-skad-du/ bLa-ma'i gsuñs dri-ma-med-pa bsgrigs-pa²
 shes-bya-ba/
 Chos-kyi-rje Chag lo-tsā-ba'i shabs-kyi-padmo dri-ma-med-pa-
 la gus-pas phyag-'tshal-lo//
 dPal-gyi-mtshan-can dPal-gyi-don-ldan dPal//
 bLa-ma'i shabs-rdul gus-pa'i gtsug-gis bsten//
 mKhyen-pa'i ye-śes bkra-ba thugs-rje-can//
 bLa-mas rtag-par byin-gyis-brlab-tu-gsol//
 Chos-sku gdod-nas shi-ba'i phyir//
 Dag-pa'i sgyu-ma rgyu-las-skyes//
 sToñ-ñid rten-'brel loñs-skur byon//
 bLa-ma'i shabs-la phyag-'tshal-lo//
 bTags-na ma-grub rkyen-las-skye//
 Byas dan mi-rtag lta-bur gsuñs//
 rTag-chad-mthar-khuñ-du gsel³-mdzad//
 sMan-pa'i rgyal-po-la phyag[1]-'tshal//
 Nam-mkha'i-mtha'-ni dpag-med-pa//
 Phyogs-bcu ma-lus bsdud-'dod-ltar//
 bLa-ma'i-yon-tan dpag-med kyañ//
 Phyogs-'ga' gus-pas bri-bar-bya//
 De-yañ bLa-ma Chos-rje Chags⁴ lo-tsā-ba mtshan Dharma-su
 -mi-śrī⁵ shes-bya-ba/ rGya-gar pañ-chen bcu-gñis-kyi-yon-

1. The usual form at the end of a title is bshugs-so.

2. bsgrigs-pa here renders the Sanskrit *āvali*. In the Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary of Tshen-riñ dbañ-rgyal (publ. by J. Bacot, Paris, 1930) translates the Sanskrit *grantha*, *grathita*.

3. Read : sel.

4. Read : Chag.

5. Read : Dharmasvāmiśrī. Tibetan: Chos-rje-dpal. In the colophons of the bsTan-'gyur, Chos-rje-dpal is often called dPal-gyi-mtha'-can ("whose name ends in dPal"), hence the dPal-gyi mtshan-can of our text.

tan-mña'-ba mkhas-btsun grub-pa brñes-pa spyir rigs-pa'i-gnas-
 lña dan/khyad-par-du snags dan sgra dan/ mtshan-ñid-kun-la
 mkhas-pa-te¹// sñon yañ mkhas-pa'i-'byuñ-gnas dbaṅ-po-rno-
 la lce-bde-ba'i-swa sñal²-gyi-smad lTe'u-ra'i byañ-na Chag-groñ
 shes-pa mkhar-dkar-po zur-lña-pa-can der sku-'khruñs-so//
 kho-bo ni Chags³ lo-tsā-bā dGra-bcom⁴ shes-pa rGya-gar rDo-
 rje-gdan-du bsñugs⁵-pa/ Ma-hā-bo-dhi Byañ-chub-bchen- po-
 la mañdal dan mchod-pa-rnam-lña mañ-du phul-nas me-tog-
 gi-'phreñ-ba mañ-po gtor-bas Byañ-chub-bchen-po'i sñan-gñis-la
 mdzes-par-chags-pas dkon-gñer-la-sogs-pa-tñams-cad ya-mtshan
 skyes/ Na-len-trar bDe-mchog-gi-lña-khañ rten-gyi-druñ-du
 bsgrub-pas [2a] bDe-mchog shal-gzigs-pa'i mkhas-btsun grub-
 pa brñes-pa bsgrub-pa-la brtson-pa dPal dGra-can-gyi-mkhan-
 rgyud-'dzin-pa de ni mkhan-pa'o// mes-po-ni mes bla-ma
 can-po⁶ bKra-śis-dga' shes-pa theg-pa che-chuñ snags mdo-sde
 thams-cad-la mkhas-śiñ khyad-par-du yo-ga'i-'grel-bchen-rnams-
 la mkhas-pas dPal-mchog-gi-thig-rtsa-tsa-tshon-na'añ mdzad/
 mchog-lđan lhamo Re-ma-ti dan/ dKar-mo ñi-zla-phreñ-can
 bran-bshin-du 'khol-ba'o// yab ni slob-dpon chen-po Dar-ma-
 'byuñ-gnas shes-pa Jo-bo bzañ-ba bDe-mchog-lhan-skyes dan/
 Phyag-na-rdo-rje'i bsgrub-pa-po gyon-ñam-bshag dan/ gyas
 phreñ-ba rtag-par thogs-pa gsuñ-dbyaṅs sñan-pa sñiñ ma-
 'gyer-ba shig-go// Chos-rje-ñid-kyi-shal-nas pha jo'i gyer-ma
 dbyaṅs sñan-po de da-duñ yid-la lcags gsuñs// yum Chos-
 'bum-gyi lhum-su Chos-rje shugs-pa'i-dus-su yum-gyi chags-
 sdañ-kun-'bral sñiñ-rje chen-por gyur-nas bdog-pa thams-cad
 'dzin-chags-med-par ga-tho-ma-thor su-tho-thod-la byin-
 pas [2b] Chos-'bum sño-'dug-go shes grags-so//

sku-bltams-pa'i dus-su ltas bzañ-po tshor-ba du-ma byuñ/

1. Read: ste.

2. gñal.

3. Read: Chag.

4. dGra-bcom, 1153-1216.

5. Read: mñags-'dug-pa.

6. Read: chen-po.

na--zal-ras-kyi-añ-ga-rag gsol-ba de-la de-nas lha'i-bu-gñis
 me-tog-gi-char dan bdud-rtsi'i-rgyun 'bebs-śin klu'i-rgyal-po-
 gñis-kyis gdan-khri 'bul-ba-byuñ-ño// lTe'u-ra'i-rgyud-ris-la
 yañ de-ltar bris-brda'o// de-ltar 'gro-don-la byon bla-ma'i
 sku// ha-cañ che-ba-ma-yin-la// ha-cañ chuñ-ba'añ ma-yin-
 la// bshugs-na gzi-brjid-che-ba-la// bshens-na phyogs-kun
 mdzes-pa'o// khyad-par-du yañ dbu dan tshems// spyān yan
 de-lta mi-la med// sde-snod-chos char-'bebs-pa'i-tshe// gdul
 bya'i gti-mug sel-ba'i gsuñ// de-lta'i-gsuñ yañ mi-la med//
 de-yañ 'phags-pa kLu-sgrub-kyi-shal-sña-nas// tshig-ni bden-la
 'jam-po-dag// yun-rin-dus-su brjod-pa-yi// mi-yi-dbañ-p
 ljags yañs-śin// tshañs-pa-yi-ni dbyañs-sñan 'gyur// lha-
 par gus dan kur-ti² dag// ji-ltar rigs-par rjes-'jug-pas// tshems-ni
 śin-tu dkar-ba [3a] dan// mdog-ldan mñam-pa'i-tshems-
 su 'gyur// bden dan phra-ma-med-pa-yi// tshig-ni yun-rinś
 goms-pa-yis// dpal-ldan tshems-ni bshi-cu-tham// mñam
 par-thag kyañ bzañ-bar-'gyur// chags dan sdañ dan rmoñs
 med-ciñ// byams-pas sems-can bltas-pa-yis// spyān-ni bkrag-
 can mthon-'thin-la³// rdzi-ma ba-yi lta-bur'gyur// bzod-pas
 mdañs-ldan dge-bas brjid// bsam-gtan-gyis shi-blo-yisgrol/
 shes-bya-ba'i rgyu-mthun-pa-las 'khruñs-pa/ ljags yañs-
 śin bde-ba Tshañs-pa'i dbyañs--dan-ldan-pa/ tshem⁴ dkar-shin
 tshad-mñam-pa/ thags-bzañ-ba grañs bshi-bcu-tshañ-ba spy-
 an-mthon-'thin⁵ dkar-nag phye-la/ spyān-rdzi bstug-pa⁶ shal-
 mdañs-dan-ldan-shin gzi-brjid che-ba shig-go/ dguñ-la bdun-
 pa bshes-nas klog dan rGya-yig dan/ Bod-yig dan/ bi-warta
 rnām-par-bsgyur-ba dan bka-'bcad-bris-thig bsłabs/byis-pa'i-
 dus-nas stan-khrims-lña-pa'i-dge-bsñen mdzad/ dguñ-lo bcu-
 gcig-nas [3b] ñi-śu-rtsa-gcig-gi-bar-du Chag lo-tsā-ba/ goñ-ma
 dGra-bcom-gyi shabs-druñ ma-bral-bar bsten bDe-mchog-gi-
 dbañ thob/ sñags mtshan-ñid gshuñ gdams-nag mañ-po shus/

1. Read: bza'.
2. Read: bkur-sti.
3. Read: mthon-mthin.
4. Read: tshems.
5. Read: mthon-mthin.
6. Read: stug-pa.

zems-bskyed-kyi-bka'- lña shus-so/ spyir lo bcu-bdun-lon-
 nas bshi-bcu-rtsa-lña'i-bar-du snag-sñug-dañ-mi-bral-ba'i dam-
 bca'-byas shes bla-ma-ñid 'Ju-phur gsuñs-so/ dguñ-lo bcu-bshi
 bco-lña'i-dus-su lTe'u-ra'i bKra-sis-lhun-por sku-mtshams bcad-
 nas khro-bo'i-rgyal-po Mi-gyo sñon-po pus-brtsugs-kyi-bsñen-po
 'bum-tsho- ñi-sú-rtsa-drug skyal-pas thugs-dam-lha'-i-shal-gzigs
 de-yañ gshan-las gsañ-te¹ slob-dpon Don-shags-la gsuñs-pas
 yid-ma-ches-par phyis Chos-rje rGya-gar-du gshud-tshe Don-
 shags-pa na-rc da rGya-gar-nas mi-ldog// srog-gi bar-chad
 yon yañ yi-dam-lha'-i-shal-mthoñ gsuñ-te² bar-chad yin zer skad-
 pa-la dus-phyis Chos-rje rDo-rje-gdan-nas bar-chad-med-par
 byon/ dgoñs-pa'i don-thams-cad grub-nas lTe'u-rar phebs-pa'i-
 dus-su Don-shags-pa [4a] de yid-ches-dad-gus gshan-las che'o//
 bla-ma 'di grub-thob yin-par-'dug-pa-la na-niñ ña'i rmi-lam-na
 lTe'u-ra'i nñub-phyogs rGya-tsha'i-ri'i-sten-nas ñi-ma śar-bas
 mñal-sa³ thams-cad 'od-kyis khens-pa'i rmi-lam byuñ/ Chos-rje-
 pa 'byoñ-pa'i-ltas bzañ-po yin-par-'dug gsuñ-nas śin-tu gus-pa-
 che skad-do// dguñ lo ñi-sú'i-dus-su Chos-rje-goñ-ma'i shal-nas
 ñid rGya-gar-du gshud-dgos/ de-la Bi-warta-ni śes-zin/ mñon-
 pa śes-dgos-pas slob-śig/ Bal-po'i gnas-po bha-ro Hañ-
 thuñ-ba-la gyis-śig/ de-kun ña'i gnas-po yin-no/ pañḍita-
 rnams-la chos-shu-tshad-la dus-mñam-du shus-śig/ phyis shus-
 na sña-ma mi.....ñes-pa 'oñ-ño/ nus-na rGya-gar rDo-rje-
 gdan-du gshud/ rGya-gar-gyi-chu 'thuñ-ba-tsam-gyis kyañ
 'oñ-ño/ sgra-bzañ-la lce-bde-bar-'gro gsuñ-ba'i gsuñ-chem gnañ-
 nas der Chos-rje-goñ-ma rGya-gar rDo-rje-gdan-du gtugs-pas
 Śākyasrī dañ [4b] Buddhaśrī dañ/ Ratnaśrī-la-sogs-pa'i lo-tsā-ba
 mdzad-ciñ thugs-zin-pa/ dPyal- lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi-bzañ-po dañ
 rGya-gar-du dus-mtshuñs-pa'i grogs-po-dam-pa bDe-mchog-
 gi grub-pa brñes-pa de dguñ-lo drug-bcu-rtsa-bshi-la
 sku-gśegs-so// de-nas de'i lo-rañ-la Chos-rje rGya-gar rDo-
 rje-gdan ma-mtñon-bar-du Bod-du mi-bzlog-pa'i dam-bca'-

1. Read: ste.

2. Read: sté.

3. Read: ñal-sa.

mdzad/ lTe'u-ra'i śar-gyi sgo'i-them-pa-la shabs gtab-naś rDo-
rje-gdan ma-mthoñ-bar-du bzlog-ri'i-dbu-sñuñ-bshes-nas shañ-
po tshad-ma dan 'dul-ba śes-pa'i dge-bśes-cig-gis shabs-thogs-
mdzad-nas byon-rtsa-du bla-mas Śa-skya lo-tsā-ba dan/ Khro-
bu lo-tsā-ba dan/ Nñāñ-stod lo-tsā-ba dan/ byañ-chub-sems-
dpa' sNar-thañ-pa Gro-chen-po-la-sogs-pā mkhas-btsun-mañ-po-
la chos mañ-du gsan/ bla-ma chen-po Guñ-thañ-pa Lha-btsun-
la lhag-par chos mañ-du gsan-te mñon-pa-kun-las-btus mkhas-
par-bslabs Chos-rje'i thugs-nas gsuñ-ba'i dpe-chā [5a] lag-
'thil²-tsam-yañ ma-dgos-par-gda'// 'Phags-skor rñogs³-lugs kyañ
der gsan-no// de-ltar gTsañ-du lo bcu bshugs-so// bla-ma
Chos-rje Chag lo-tsā-ba Bod-du sku-'khruñs-pa'i le'u-ste-dañ-pa'o//

Chapter II.

De-nas Bal-yul-du gnas-po'i-khañ-par byon-pas thag-rin-
po-nas byon-pas sñel⁴-gso dgos zer/ sñā-dro phyi-rol-du
byon-pas thugs-skyo/ phyi-dro srañ-mdor byon-pas kyañ
thugs-skyo-nas bla-ma 'jal-bar⁵ myur-đu riñs-nas gnas-po'i-
gam-du byon-nas ña 'gro gsuñs-pas 'o-na gshud zer/ de-nas
'Phags-pa Śiñ-kun-du bla-ma Ratnarakṣita Rin-chen-'tsho'i
spyān-sñar byon-nas dril-bu legs-pa gcig bla-ma-de-la phul/
badzra-ghanṭa pha-la pha-la gsuñ/ Chos-rje'i-thugs-la dril-
bu gcig phul-ba-la rdo-rje dril-bu bzañgsun-ba ci-tsug yin sñam-
tsa-nas Lho-Bal-na dril-bu'i-mgo-la-rdo-rje-yod-pa-de-la rdo-
rje-dril-bu zer-bar-'dug/dril-bu-mgo-med-pa [5b] rta'am glañ-
po'i-ske-lā-btags-pa-de-la dril-bu zer-bar-'dug/ bla-ma-de-la-
dril-bu de phul-bas de'i mthoñ-chos da-lta dril-bu sum-rgya⁶-
tsam yod-pa 'di byuñ gsuñs/ de-na Bod-kyi mi-kham-pa'i
dge-bśes sTon-grags-la-sogs-pa drug dbañ-shu-bar-'dug-pa-la
rGya-skad-śes-pa mi-'dug-nas der lo-tsā-ba mdzad-nas bDe-
mchog-lha-bcu-gsum-ma'i-dbañ-la-sogs-pa lña thob/ ña khoñ-la
drin-che ña-la'añ khoñ drin-che gsuñs 'Phags-pa Śiñ-kun-na

1. Read: phu.
2. Read: mthil.
3. Read: rñogs.
4. Read: mñel.
5. Read: mjal.
6. Read: brgya.

chos-bshi¹ yod/ de'i-tshe bla-ma Ratnarakṣita rten 'ga' bsheṅs-
nas rab-gnas-byed-pa'i sa-chog-mdzad-khar-'dug-pa-la sleb-pas²
mñes-nas Bho-ta a-ti-pha-la³/Bod ño-mtshar-che ñid-lta-bu Bod-
du skye-bar-'dug gsuñs-so/ yañ paṇḍita chen-po Re-wendra-de-
wa⁴ Ñi-ma'i-dbañ-po'i-lha mñon-par-śes-pa-mña'-ba'i dge-bśñen
de-la 'Phags-skor dañ iDo-rje-'phreñ-ba-la-sogs-pa'i [6a] chos
mañ-du- shus/ mdo-rgyud rtogs-pa-bsdus-pa tshar gsum gsan-
pas de-tsam mi-dgos gsuñs yañ shus-te gsan-pas mñes-te/ ba-
hu-ta-satwa-ārthi⁵ sems-can mañ-po'i don 'oñ gsuñ-ño gsuñ/
Bal-yud-na 'Phags-pa Bu-kham-gi-gtsug-lag-khañ-na sPyan-ras-
gzigs-kyi sku śiñ-tsan-dan-la rañ-byon/ byis-pa-lo-lña-lon-
pa-tsam-gcig-la sku-mdog dmar-por bshugs/ 'Phags-pa Bu-
kham de rGya-gar-na grags-che/ Bod-na 'Phags-pa Śiñ-kun
grags-che/ 'Phags-pa Bu-kham de ston-zla 'briñ-po'i tshes-
brgyad-lā' phyi-rol-du spyan-drañs-nas mchod-pas ltad-mo
chen-po 'oñ/ yul-mi spy'i-mchod-pa-byas-nas bye-brag-tu
rgyal-po dañ/ bha-ro dañ kun-gyis rañ-rañ-gi khañ-par spyan-
drañs-te mchod-pa-byed/ sho dañ 'o-ma dañ sbrañ dañ sbrañ-
rtsi dañ/ ka-ra dañ lña-la phyis bdud-rtsi-lña zer-te de-dag-gis
spyi-bo-nas blug⁶-te sku-khrus-gsol-nas khrus-chu shus-pas
khrus-shu dañ bza' bgra-ka-'oñ/de-ltar zla-ba phyed-du mchod-
pas [6b] mtshal śas-che-ba'i rtsi-dmar-po-yod-pa-de sañs-kyi
byi-nas med-par-'gro/ de-nas zla-ba phyi-ma'i-tshe-bdun-gyi
ñin-bar hañ-du⁷ zer-ba snags-pa gshon-pa-rnams-kyis bsil-yab-la-
sogs dañ rol-mo mañ-po thogs-te lha-khañ-du spyan-drañs-te
ltad-mo mañ-po 'oñ/ tshes-brgyad-kyi ñin-bar rtsi-dmar-po
gsar-du gsol-bar-'dug gsuñ// dbU-ma rin-chen 'phreñ-ba'i le'u
gsum-par sñiñ-po-lña-rnams sbyin-pa dañ shes-par de gsuñ-ño//
yañ Bal-yul-na Thañ bi-ha-ra⁸ Ka-pa'i gtsug-lag-khañ-ñam
Goñ-gi-lha-khañ zer/ de-ni mchod-rten-gcig-la nub-re-bshin'od-

1. Read: chos-gshi.

2. Read: bslebs-

3. a-ti-pha-la <*atibhalā

4. Ravindradeva.

5. bahusattvārthi.

6. Read: blugs-.

7. hañ-du <n. pr.

8. Vihāra.

'bar-ba Jo-bo-rjes gzigs-nas de-na ci yod kun-la dris-pas
 śes-pa-ma-byuñ-ba-la rgan-mo-gcig na-re Sañs-rgyas 'Od-bsruñs-
 kyis dkyil-'khor bshens-pa'i rdul-tshon yod-pa-yin-namshes zer-
 bas des shabs-tog-tu Jo-bos lha-khañ bshens-pa-te¹ mchod-rten
 de'i mdun-na Śākya-thub-pa'i gser-sku bshens-pa-gcig yod/ de-la
 Jo-bo Mi-'jig-pa-sbyin-pa zer/rGya-gar-ba gnas de-la [7a]
 Dharma- dhā-tu-bi-ha-ra² Chos-kyi-dbyiñs-kyi-gtsug-lag-khañ
 zer-ro// de-na gser-srañ brgyad-bcu 'jen³-la btags-pa' i-khri
 rgyan-rnam-bshi-zañ⁴-la 'phul⁵-ma-byas-pa/ gser-byugs-pa mu-
 tig-gis-brgyan-pa yod-pa/ de blañs-nas mchos⁶ 'dzugs-pa'i-mis
 bla-ma bshugs-su-gsol-ba bkur-sti yin/ de-nas da-lta-bar
 chos-tshugs-bzañ-ño / Chos-rjes der ma-bshugs 'Phags-pa
 Siñ-kun-na chos-gshi yod-pas der bshugs gsuñ/ Rin-chen-
 phreñ-bar dam-pa'i-chos dañ chos-sgra-la/ khyod-kyi bkur-sti
 mchog dañ ni shes-pa de gsuñ-ño// yañ bla-ma'i-shal-nas
 sñags-pa'i bu-tsha yin-pas mthu'i-rigs-rnams dgos sñam-nas
 ma-lo-pa-tra shes-bya-ba-la-sogs-pa ñan-sñags sog-deb-lña-
 tsam bris-te phyis stoñ-der-soñ/ de-tsa-na sde-snod mañ-po
 mñan-yod-pa-yin-te/ ñan-sñags-kyi dgos-pa-med sñam-pa ma-
 byuñ/ bla-ma Rawendra'i⁷-spyān-sñar phyin-pas de-tsho-
 dgos-pa-med-par soñ bla-ma de drin-che ñan-sñags-rig phyis
 med-par-byas gsuñ/ [7b] Bal-yul-du lo-ril-po brgyad bshugs-so//
 De'-i-dus-su rGya-gar-na'añ sgra-la-mkhas-pa med-de 'oñ sñam-
 pa'i gdogs-yod gsuñs/ bla-ma Chos-rje Chags⁸ lo-tsā-bas
 Bal-yul-dū byon-pa'i le'u-te⁹-gñis-pa'o//

Chapter III

De-nas rGya-gar-du bshud-pa-la- bla-ma gTsañ-pa Gye-re-
 ma¹⁰ dañ bla-ma Re-wandre¹¹-gñis ma-gtogs-pa Khro-pu¹²-pa

1. Read: ste.
2. Dharmadhātu-vihāra.
3. Read: rjen.
4. Read: bzañ.
5. Read: phul.
6. Read: chos.
7. Ravindra.
8. Read: Chag.
9. Read: ste.
10. Read: Gye-re-ba.
11. Ravindra.
12. Read: phu.

dañ Sa-skyapa-la-sogs-pa-thams-cad-kyis sku-tshe'i-bar-chad-
'oñ mi-bshud-par-shu gsuñ/ Gye-re-ba'i-shal-nas rGya-gar-du
byon yañ bar-chad mi-'oñ gsuñ/ Re-wendra'i¹-shal-nas khyod
rGya-gar-du byon yañ bar-chad-mi-yoñ 'o-skol pha-bad²
'jal³-'oñ gsuñ-pa de-ka-ltar byuñ/ bla-ma-de-gñis-la mñon-
śes-mña'-bar-'dug gsuñ-ño/

gYog-gi-shañ-po de Bal-yul-du groñs de-nas shabs-thogs-pa-
med-par byon-te/ dbUs-nas rGya-gar bskor yañ gyog-med-ciñ
rtsod-dus mi-rgod mañ yañ lam-du rañ nam-yañ chom-pos
bcom-pa ma-mchis-pa de'añ mkhan-po Chos-rje chen-po'i
drin shes yi-ge'añ [8a] mdzad-do/ Bal-po-nas rGya-gar-du bshud-
pa-la drañ sroñ-gi-ri U-śi-ra shes-pa rtse-mthon-nam mgo-po-
che zer-ba sogs ri-gsum yod/ deñ-sañ Bal-po'i skad-lab-pa'i-sa-
nas byon-pas rGya-gar-ba'i skad-lab-pa'i-sar sleb¹ gsuñ/ sleb-
pa'i-sa-na Ti-ra-hu-ti shes-pa'i yul-khams yod/ de'i dkyus-
thag-la zla-ba gsum/ dkyus-thuñ-śos-la'añ ñin-lam ñi-sū yod/
de-nas phar grogs-po Khams-pa lDan-ma Tshul-Khrims señ-ge
bya-ba-dañ-gñis-kyis byon-pas rigs--ñan mos bsdas-pas Chos-
rjes bros-pas thar/ Tshul-khrims señ-ge mo-gcig-gis lag-pa'añ
bcag-go de-dus-na bslab-pa gtsañ gñen-po-che-ba yin-pa-la/
phyis bslab-pa 'chal-pas kho śi/ rā-ga-ni-śri-ta zer-te 'dod-
chags-bsten-pa de Bod-kyi byas-na rGya-gar-gyi-tshad-pa
'phog 'chi-ba-yin/ rā-ga-a-ni-śri-ta 'dod-chags-mi-bsten-pa
bslab-pa gtsañ-señ-ñe-byas-pas ña ma-śi gsuñ/ Ti-ra-hu-ti-na
lam-nas-mthon-ba'i-lho-nub-mtshams-śig-na bu-ram-ñin-gi [8b]
nags-tshal sño-thib-se-ba yod gshan-pas sño/bu-ram de-nas 'oñ
gsuñ/ yul de ni groñ-khyer Pa-ta bya-ba mi-khyim 'bum-tsho
drug yod-pa/ lcags-ri bdun-gyis skor-ba/ lcags-ris mtho-ba-
la Bod-kyi-mkhar-tsam-pa de'i-phyi-rol-du chu dañ śin-la-sogs-
pa'i 'obs ñi-sū-rtsa-gcig-gis-bskor-ba'i-dbus-na rgyal-po'i-pho
brañ yod/ de-la sgo-mo che-ba bcu-gcig yod/ śar-nub-lho-na
gsum-gsum/ byañ-na gñis/ byañ-gi-gñis-po ma-mthon gshan-

1. Ravindra.

2. Read: pha-spād.

3. Read: mjal.

4. Read: bslebs.

rnams-la sgo-mdun-na zam-pa yod zam-pa'i-phyi-rol-na go-
 mtshon-mdun-na-bshag-pa'i mi-mda'-'phen-pa bcu-lhag re-re
 yod/ zon-byed-pa 'dra de-la Tu-ru-ska Gar-log-zer-ba'i dmag-
 gis lo-skor-gcig-tu dmag-drañs kyañ ma-phebs skad/ de-na ral-
 skor-śes-pa'i-mi gsum yañ yod skad /glañ-po-che-mo-gcig yañ
 rgyal-po de-la yod gsuñ /de-na phar zla-bo Bal-yul-nas pha'i-rus-
 bu chu-bo Gaṅgā-la skyel-ba des [9a] pha'i -sdig-sgrib dag-par-
 'dod-pa mu-stegs-pa'i-lugs pha'i-rus-bu chu-bo Gaṅgā-la skyel-
 ba'i-mi yin zer-nas ya-mtshan-par-byed-pas de-'dra sum-brgya-
 tsam dañ/ rDo-rje-gdan-du 'gro-ba bcu-drug dañ bsdebs-nas
 byon groñ-khyer Pa-ta der Chos-rje dañ mi bshis rgyags-'tshol-
 du-byon-bag-tsam-gcig mgor¹-nas byon-pas lam-na zla'o-rnams
 ñal-por-bcugs-pa-son-nas mi-'dug chu-gcig-la gñan²-pa-gcig- gis
 gru-gtoñ-du ma-ñan-pas kyañ lan Chos-rje-ba mi bshis chu
 brgod-pa-dañ mun-sros-par-gyur lam-na sñug-ma mañ-po
 yod-pas gri-llob-khyer-te-bcag-nas me-sgron re-re thogs-nas
 byon-pa-la Chos-rje³ shabs-la tsha-tam-pa-cig byuñ tur-gyis
 bton-pas sñug-ma'i-tshal-pa-cig zug-nas shabs-las spags³-pa
 lag-'thil⁴-tsam-cig lhogs-'dug khrag mañ-po śor gsuñ /d e-ltar gyur
 kyañ sñug-me-sgron phyag-tu bsnams-nas groñ-du zla'o-rnams
 dris-shiñ byon/ [9b] gcig-nas-gcig-gtu byon yañ gcig-nas-gcig-tu
 byon-pas nam-phyed-tsa-na zla'o-rnams sñed⁵-do/ la-la gñid-
 du-son-ba-byas la-la gñid-ma-byuñ-bar sdug-mñal-nas 'dug gsuñ/
 de'i-saṅ de Chos-rjes chags cig 'tshol-ba'i 'gron-po sum-brya-po
 de 'gro-stabs-chag gsuñ/ de'i-gsañ⁶ de-nas byon-te ñin-lam
 mañ-po son-ba'i-bar lan-cig/ kha-saṅ ma-hes mi gsum bsad-de
 de-riñ 'gro-ma-nus zer-ba-cig-la grogs-po sum-brgya-dañ-bcas-
 ste Chos-rje-ñid dañ grogs-po-dam-pa-gñis dañ gsum-pos
 sñon-la yañ ma-byon/ phyi-la yañ ma-lus-par dbus-na yar-
 byon-pa-la grogs-po-sña-ma-rnams rdul tsa-re-thig-gis broś-nas
 byuñ kha-saṅ mi gsum gsod-pa'i-ma-he de byuñ-te⁷ kha-dog

1. Read: 'gor.
2. Read: mñan.
3. Read: pags.
4. Read: mthil.
5. Read: rñed.
6. Read: sañ.
7. Read: ste.

nag-pa/ kha-rlañs che-ba/ rmig-pas sa rdul-ba/ rgyaṅ-nas
 kyaṅ -ra gyob-ciñ brduñ-staṅs 'jigs-su-ruñ-ba-rnams ston-pa/
 sbo'i spu-yan-pa-riñ-po sa-la slebs-pas gru-bshir sñon-¹te rgyaṅ-
 nas blta-ba-la char-ba gdoñ-la bzed-pa 'dra-ba [10a] / ma-he'i
 Bod-skad-du gyag-rgod ces-par bsgyur ram gshan skad dod-med
 gsuñ/ der de-² dra'i ma-hes ñen-te 'jigs-pa chen-po byuñ kyaṅ
 Chos-rjes lam-bsruñs-mdzad-pas gsod-du-ma-byuñ kho-rañ
 nags-khrod gol-bar-son gsuñ/ de-ltar ñin-lam dg'u-bcu mu-stegs-
 kyi-gyal khamś Ti-ra-hu-ti-la byon-pa'i-le'u-te³-gsum-pa' o // //

Chapter IV

De-nas Yaṅs-pa-can-gyi groñ-med-pa'i-mtha'-⁴'khob ñin-lam
 drug yod / Drañ-sroñ-gi-ri U-śrir-shes-pa rTse-mthon nam
 mGo-bo-che zer-ba yod de-kun-tu śi-skyid-kyi-jag-pa 'oñ de-
 ma-gtogs-pa groñ-du sleb-tsam-yod / ijoṅs Yaṅs-pa-can-shes-
 bya-ba dkyus-thuñ-śos-la ñin-lam brgyad / dkyus-riñ-śos-la
 ñin-lam ñi-śu-yod-pa-shig-go / de-na 'Phags-ma sGrol-ma rdo-
 la-rañ-byon-bsheñs-sku dbu-gyon-du-skyog-ge-ba shabs-gyon-
 mñam-pa'i-rkañ-stabs-la gyas-pa-logs-su-bstan-pa-can phyag-
 gyas mchog-sbyin gyon dkon-mchog-gsum-mtshon-gyi-sor-mos
 thugs-kar-brgyan-pa [10b] de'i shal mthon-ba-tsam-gyis bar-
 chad-sel-ba'i byin-rlabs śin-tu-che-ba gcig bshugs / Yaṅs-pa-
 can-gyi-groñ-khyer chen-por byon-pa-na de'i mi-kun śin-tu gre⁵-
 bar-'dug-te⁴ Gar-log-gi-dmag 'ur-che-bas rñaṅs⁴ -śiñ skrags-par-
 brda skad / de-nub Chos-rje lo-tsā-bas gzigs-lam-du rDo-rje-
 gdan-gyi ji-lta-ba gzigs-śiñ Chos-rje lo-tsā-ba goñ-ma dan'
 'jal⁶-nas gsuñ-gleñ yaṅ mdzad-do // de-skad-du' aṅ Chos-rje-
 ñid-kyis-mdzad-pa'i- bla-ma'i-sku-drin-dran-pa'i-tshigs-bcad
 anu-pra- śa-la⁷ rjes-su skyaṅs⁸-pa'i-rgyan-shes-pa-las / lam-
 grogs bgrod-pa mañ kyaṅ Gar-log dan' / nags-kyi-ma-hes
 ñen yaṅ nam-'phrul-gyis / rDo-rje-gdan mthon gegs-su-ma-gyur-

1. Read: mñon.

2. Read: sté.

3. Read: brel.

4. Read: ste.

5. Read: dñaṅs.

6. Read: rjal.

7. <anupraśna(?).

8. bskyaṅs.

pa / de yañ mkhan-po Chos-rje chen-po' i drin shes-pa de'i
don ji-ltar lags shus-pas / de-la ma-hes ñen-pa goñ-du Ti-ra-
hu-ti'i-skabs-su bsad-zin-to // rnam-phrul-gyi¹ rDo-rje-gdan
mthoñ gsuñ-ba ji-ltar lags/ses Thañ-po-che'i [11a]-dgon-pa-chen-
por ston-chos-gsuñ-dus-su bla-brañ thog-khar shus-pas de khyod-
kyis bris sam gsuñ lo-lña'i-goñ-du lTeñu-rar bris-lags shus-pas
de'i don' di yin gsuñ / Yañs-pa-can-du slebs-pa-na mi-thams-
cad Gar-log-gis 'jigs-pas tho-rañs bro-s-pas nam-la bro-po-byed
ña'i zla' o 'gron-po zer-ba / lam-la-'gro-ba-gsum-brgya-
yod-pa-rnams kyañ 'gros-par-' dug-pa-la ña'i rmi-lam-na rDo-
rje-gdan-du phyin-pas Chos-rje goñ-ma byon-pas phyag-
mkhar-gyis lha-khañ-gi-sgo-rnams phye-nas bu khyod 'di-rnams
legs-par-gzigs-śig/ 'jigs-mi-dgos-kyi 'di-na yar-la-byon-cig
gsuñ-ba-yin / de-nas gñid-bsad-nas sñiñ-la ñams-dga'-bar-
byuñ gsuñ / de-nas tho-rañ² de ljoñs Yañs-pa-can-gyi mi-thams-
cad bro-s-ñas ma-bro-s-pas zla'o gcig na-re 'o-na ña yañ bsdod³
zer yañ cig⁴-gis bsdad' / ñed-gsum-gyi⁵ bsdad-pas de-nas 'gron-
po-gcig-gis⁶ bsdad-do / ñi-ma śar-nas sgo-mdun [11b] -du byon-
pa-na yon-bdag-mo gcig yas-na byuñ-te⁷ 'gron-po-kun gtam-sñan
zlas--su-yod-do shes zer-te dmag rGya-gar-nub-phyogs-la soñ-
no zer / der thams-cad dga'--tshor chen-po byuñ-te⁶ mi-kha-
cig na-re bud-med de lha-mo sGrol-ma rañ yin zer-nas dga'-
byuñ gsuñ-nas Chos-rje-ñid bshad-do // Yañs-pa-can-du rDo-
rje-gdan gzim-lam-du gzigs-pa 'i-le 'u-ste-bshi-pa'o //

Chapter V

De-nas Yañs-pa-can-gyi-mtha'-nas rDo-rje-gdan-du lhor
ñin-lam brgyad yod chu-bo Gañgā yod / de-ni nub-nas śar-
du 'bab-pa shog-pa-sña-mo-nas gru-la phyin kyañ pha-rol-du
dgoñs-mo-las mi-sleb-pa gru-sgam-bu- 'dra-ba-gñis-pa-de-pa
thag-gis bcñs-pa 'i-nañ-du mi sum-brgya-tsam soñ-ba-yod

1. Read: -gyis.
2. Read: rañs.
3. Read: bsdad.
4. Read: gcig.
5. Omit: gyi.
6. Omit: gis.
7. Read: ste.
8. Read: ste.

chu-bo de'i-nañ-nas chu-srin nakra shes-pa gyag-tsam-gcig
 byuñ-nā res- 'ga' gru sdib-tu 'jug-te¹ res- 'ga' gru 'i-nañ-nas mi
 bzuñ-nas khar [12a] 'khyer-'gro-bas śin-tu 'jig-pa che'o//
 Gaṅgā' i pha-rol-na yul Ma-ga-dha yod-de / Bod-skad-du dbus-
 gyur-'chañ madhya dbus ga-ti gyur-pa dh²-ra-ya-ti 'chañ-ba'o
 yul de-ni rDo-rje-gdan-pas phyogs bshir dpāg-tshad drug-cu
 drug-cu 'i nañ-ni dbus-kyi sa 'o de-ni sa'i-chas-phyes-pa'i-dbus
 yin-no bstan-pas phye-ba'i-dbus-ni thos-bsam-bsgcm-gsum gar
 yod-pa ni dbus / med-pa ni mtha'-'khob yin-no gsuñs-so // Ma-
 ga-dha' i bye-brag dakṣi-na-ra³ shes-pa lho-phyogs-kyi-rgyud
 ces-pa-na Badzrā-sa-na⁴ rDo-rje-gdan yod / Bya-rgod-phuñ-po
 'i-ri dan / Na-lendra⁵ dan / rGyal-po'i-khab dan / 'Od-
 ma 'i-tshal yod / Bi-kra-ma-śi-la Chos-rje goñ-ma'i druñ dan
 Kha-che pañ-chen-gyi-dus-na yod-pa-na Chos-rje byon-
 pa-na Gar-log-gis rmañs-rdo 'añ bton-te chu-bo Gañ-
 ga⁶-la kyur⁷-nas mi-'dug gsuñ / bla-ma Chos-rje' i
 rDo-rje-gdan⁸ dus-su mi-gcig kyañ mi-'dug-pa-la grogs-btsun-
 pa bshi yod-pa'irgyus [12b]-can / gcigna-re-ma-legs Gar-log-gis
 ñen-nas bros-pa-yin zer Byañ-chub-chen-po' i-sku de 'i sgo so-
 phag-gis legs-par-brtsegs shal-shal-byas de 'i-tsar⁹ sku-cig bshag-
 te¹⁰ rdzus-ma sku-tshab-tu byas phyi-sgo-la'añ'dam-shal-rgyab-
 nas der dbañ-phyug-chen-po' i-sku-gcig bris-pas de mu-stegs-
 kyis mi-śig-pa'i thabs-byas- 'dug-pas rañ-re lña-po'añ sdod-
 mi-nus 'bros-dgos zer-ba-la ñin-lam-rin-la tshad-pa che / sku-
 sñel¹¹ mun-sros-pas der lus gzims-su-soñ / Gar-log byuñ-na mi-
 tshor-ba-'dug gsuñs / nam-lañ-nas byañ-phyogs-la śiñ-rta-
 drañs-pa'i rjes-su-'brañs-nas bros-nas shag bcu-bdun sku de' i
 shal ma-mthoñ gsuñs / de'i-dus-su yañ bud-med-cig byuñ-
 nas Gar-log thag-rin-po-shig-tu soñ-nas med zer gtam-sñan-po

1. Read: ste.

2. *dharayati*.

3. Dakṣiṇa.

4. Vajrāsana.

5. Nālandā.

6. Read: gā.

7. Read: bskyur-.

8. Insert -du- byon-dus-su.

9. Read: rtsar.

10. Read: ste

11. Read: mñel.

bsgrags-so // de-nas rDo-rje-gdan-du byon-nas Jo-bo Byañ-chub-
 -chenpo 'i-sku-la gsol-ba-btab-skor-ba-mdzad-ciñ bsh-gs-pa-la
 ñin-gcig rgyal-po nags-nas 'byon-pa-yod-do zer [13a] grags-tsa-na
 rDo- rje-gdan-du bshugs-pa yul Ma-ga-dha-cig-gi-bdag-po rgyal-
 po Buddha-se-na Sañs-rgyas-sdè shes-pa bCom-ldan-' das-kyi-
 shañ-po' i-rgyud-pa rgyal-po Lha-brtan-gyi-rigs-cig gda'-ba de
 nags-khrod-nas byon-pa'i-lam-du Cho-rje grogs rab-tu-byuñ-
 ba-bshi-dañ btsun-pa lña bshugs-pa-la / rgyal-po de glañ-po-
 che logs-na'dom-gcig-yod-pa mtho-dman khañ-pa thog-span-
 'brin-po-tsam-pa-shig-gi-sten-na rin-po-che'i-khri ba-so'i-rgyan
 gyis-brgyan-pa-la dar-dkar-gyi-prcg-shu-dañ-rgyan-sna- tshogs-
 kyis-brgyan-pa bshugs-pa gri-mtshon dañ mda'-mdun-thams-
 cad-kyi-rtse-mo gnam-du bstan-pa'i dmag-lña-brgyas-bskor
 ba mi-gñis-kyis glañ-po-che'i-sna-nas lcags-kyus-drañs-pa'i-
 phyi-na tshur-'on-shiñ 'byon-no // rgyal-pas Chos-rje-ba-lña-
 po rgyañ-nas gzigs-pa-dañ de-ma-thag-tu rgyal-po-ñid-kyis dar-
 gyi-shwa de phud-kyi-phud-pas Chos-rje'i-thugs-la rgyal-po ci
 mdzad dam sñam-pa-byuñ gsuñ / de-nas rje'i-druñ-du sleb-¹
 pa-dañ lcags-kyu des sna-rtsa-nas bzun-te 'mi lñas rgyal-po glañ-
 po-che'i-sten [13b]-nas logs-la 'breñ-thag-gi-skas-la-śod-du phab-
 te² rgyal-pos Chos-rje-ba-dañ-lña-pa-la phyag-'tshal-shiñ Ra-hu-
 la⁴ he bandha-na⁵ kye Jo-bo-la phyag-'tshal-lo shes-par rGya-gar-
 gyi-rgyal-po-chen-po de-'dra-ba yañ rab-tu-'byuñ-ba-la phyag-
 'tshal-te Bod ba-lañ⁶ yin-pas de-'dra mi-śes gsuñ-ño // Badzra-
 ā-sa-na rDo-rje-gdan de-na ño-mtshar che-ba du-ma yod-la
 rten khyad-du-'phags-pa du-ma bshugs-te Bodhi-brikṣa⁷ Byañ-
 chub-kyi-ñiñ Ma-hā-bodhi Byañ-chub-chen-po' i-sku / Chos-rgyal
 Mya-ñan-med-kyis-bshens-pa'i-gandho-li⁸ / De-bshin-gsags-
 pa'i-tshems-mche-ba gcig / Bod-'Phrul-snañ-gi Śākya-mu-
 ne'i bshugs-khri-rdo-ba-la bCom-ldan-'das-kyi-shabs-rjes-

1. Read: slebs-.

2. Read: ste.

3. Read: ste.

4. Rā-hu-la.

5. Read: vandana.

6. Read: glañ.

7. -vṛkṣa.

8. Read: gandhola.

gñis / 'Phags-pa kLu-sgrub-kyis-mdzad-pa'i-rdo' i-dra-mig /
 Tā-ra-bī hā-ra sGrol-ma'i-lha-khañ-ño / yañ kLu'i-
 rgyal-pos ū-ro-duñ gtoñ-ba yod-de nam-shod-dus-su ñi-ma'i-
 grib-tshad-mi gsal-ba'i-tshe rDo-rje-gdan-gyi-śar-phyogs-na tsha-
 tsha' i-khañ-bu 'dra-ba' i-logs-la bug-pa-mgo-śoñ-ba-tsam-cig-
 yod-pa der rna-ba-gtad-pas dro-ran-na duñ-śkad lta-bu [14a].
 'ur-'ur-ba 'oñ gsuñ / Bodhi-brikṣa Byañ-chub-kyi-śiñ shes-
 pa de-la sku-rgyab-rten¹-nas rtsa-ku-śa-la gdan mdzad-de
 Thub-pa-chen-po sañs-rgyas-pa'o // sKal-pa-bzañ-po 'di-la
 Sañs-rgyas stoñ-'byuñ-ba thams-cad śiñ-druñ der sañs-rgyas-
 pa'i-gnas-so // rDo-rje-gdan-gyi-gan-dho-li² Bod-śkad-du dri'i-
 gtsañ-khañ shes sam dbu-rtse shes-pa'o / de-ni Chos-rgyal
 Mya-nan-med-kyis-bsheñs-pa'phañ-du khru sum-cu-so-lña yod-
 pas mthon-po de ñin-lam-gñis-kyi-sa-nas bltas kyañ mñon-tsam
 yod / pa-lcag³ cig dkar ldem-me btsugs-pa kho-na 'dra-ba-
 tsam mthoñ gsuñ-ño // ri-med-pas ñi-ma-śar-lugs kyañ sa'i-
 steñ-du phub btsugs-pa kho-na 'dra-ba-śar' oñ gsuñ-ño // Gan-
 dho-li⁴ sgo śar-du blta-ba mdun-du'khyams-khrag-pa-gsum-dañ-
 ldan-pa rgyab-na Byañ-chub-śiñ-sdoñ-po-gñis-kyis brten-pa śiñ de
 'i-og-na rdo-rje-rgya-gram-gyi-sa-gshir rgyar dpag-tshad-phyed-
 pa yod-pas rDo-rje-gdan-no / rgya-gram de' ilte-ba-la Byañ-chub-
 kyī-śiñ de skyes-la / śiñ de'i sdoñ-po-gñis-po-la shabs-thog-tu
 Chos-[14b] rgyal Mya-nan-med-kyi śar-dbu-rtse-la gtad-pa / lho-
 nub-byañ-dañ-gsum-poso-phag-gis brtsigs-pas-bskor-ba'i-mkhar-
 'dra-ba'i-nañ-na yar-rtse-mo'i-lo-ma sño-lheb-se-ba⁵ sgo gcig
 phye-bas śiñ de'i rmañs-na rdo-rje'i-khrigs-byas-pa'i-skyoñ-ma
 chen-mo gshoñ-pa-'dra-ba-gcig-gi-nañ-nas śiñ gñis skyes-pa
 'dra-ba der dad-pa-can-gyi-mis sho dañ 'o-ma-la tsan-dan dañ
 ga-bur-la-sogs-pa dri-bzañ btab-nas bum-par blug⁶ -te thag-
 riñ-po-nas kyañ khur-te der blugs-nas / Byañ-chub-kyi-śiñ
 de-la mchod-par-byed-ciñ rlan-dañ-ma-bral-bar-byed-de gan-

1. Read: brten.

2. Read: Gandhola.

3. Read: lcog-cog.

4. Read: Gandhola.

5. Read: lhabs-se-ba.

6. Read: blugs.

dho li'i¹ --nañ-na Ma-hā-bo dhi Byañ-chub-chen-po'i-sku de-
 che-chuñ shal-la khru do yod / de-'dra-ba'i-sku de lta-
 bas chog-mi-ses-pa de-nas gshan-du 'gro-sñiñ-mi-'dod-pa / rin
 kyañ der lus-'gro-ba ji-ltar dad-pa chuñ yañ sku de'i-mdun-
 du mos-gus mi-skyes-pa'am 'chi-ma mi-'tsher-mi-srid gsuñ /
 śin-tu byin-rlabs 'che de-ni sprul-pa'i-sku'o // sprul-sku-la
 gsum / ris-su-bris-pa-la-sogs-pa bzo'i-sprul-sku dañ / bya dañ
 śa-ram-bha²-la-sogs-pa skye-ba'i [15a] sprul-pa dañ / mdzad-
 pa bcu-gñis-su ston-pa lta-bu mchog-gi sprul-pa-ste mDo-sde-
 rgyan-las bzo dañ skye dañ byañ-chub-che / shes-so rañ-byon
 yañ bzo'i-sprul-pa'o// de-ni Sañs-rgyas yon-su-mya-ñan-
 las-'das-nas lo brgyad-bcu-na bram-ze'i-khye'u bcuñ-pas
 bsheñs-so shes-pa'o // de-yañ bram-ze' i-khye'u spun-gsum
 byis-pa tse³-mo-byed-pa-la chuñ-śos de ñu-shiñ ma'i-druñ-du
 'oñs-tsa-na mchi-ma tsa-re-byas-śiñ byuñ-bas ma des bris⁴-pa-
 na bcuñ na-re che-ba-gñis mu-stegs-pa-la mos-pas mu-stegs-
 kyi-lha-khañ byed / ña nañ-pa-la mos-pas nañ-pa' i-lha-khañ
 byed-pa-la khoñ-gñis-kyis nañ-pa-sañs-rgyas-pa-la mi-bzañ
 phyi-pa bzañ-ba yin zer-shiñ ña-la gnod-pa-re-byas-byuñ-ba-
 yin zer / ma na-re spun-gsum ma-'cham-mi-dgos byañ-phyogs
 ri-bo Gañs-can-gyi-'gram-na mu-stegs-kyi-lha-dbañ-phyug-
 chen-po dños ycd-pas de-la phy-nañ-gñis-kyi-⁵mtha' gañ bzañ
 dris-dañ zer / spun-gsum na-re der mi-sleb zer ma na-re
 ña-la rkañ-mgyogs-kyi-rtsi yod sbyin zer-nas rkañ-pa-la rtsi
 byugs-pas [15b] bu-gsum btañ dañ / lam-na tshur nañ-pa'i ban-
 dhe mañ-po byon- pa-la gar byon dris-pa-la / dBañ-phyug-
 chen-po'i sñen-bskur⁶-la-phyin-pa-yin zer / pho-bo-gñis-kyi-
 rtogs-pa-la'o nañ-pa bzañ-ba-yinnam sñam-ste the-tshom zos/
 chuñ-śos-kyi-rtogs-pa-la nañ-pa bzañ-ba-yin 'dug sñam-nas sems-
 dga' / de-nas dBañ-phyug-chen-po-la dris-pas ña-la 'jig-rten-gyi
 dbañ-phyug brgyad yod-pas tshe-'di-la ci dgos-pa ña-rañ-la yod/
 tshe-phyi-ma bya-'oñ zer-tsa-na phan-pa'i thabs ñas mi-ses-pas

1. Read: la'i.

2. *śarabha*.

3. Read: rtsed-.

4. Read: dris-.

5. Insert : grub-.

6. Read: bsñen-bkur.

nañ-pa'i-ban-dhe-la bsñen-bskur¹-bya-ba-yin zer/ der nañ-pa'i-grub-mt'a' bzañ-bar spun-gsum-kas śes-nas ma'i-gam-du phyin-pa-na ma na-re nañ-pa bzañ-ba śnar-nas śes-te phu-bo-gñis miñan-pas 'drir-btañ-ba-yin zer der nañ-pa'i-dgon-du shugs-te/rten re-re yañ bsheñs-pa-la che-śos-kyis rGyal-po'i-khab-tu gtsug-lag-khañ bsheñs-te 'Od-ma'i tshal-gyi-gtsug-lag-khañ bsheñs-so// 'brin-pos de'i [16a] nub-phyogs Ba-ra-na-ser bsheñs-te chos-kyi-'khor-lo-bskor-ba'i gtsug-lag-khañ shes-so// chuñ-śos sñam-na pa-śul dga'-śos ma-thob/ phu-bo-gñis dbañ-che ña chuñ-śos-su skyes-pas lan-sñam-pa-la ma na-re khyod mi-dga'-ba mi-dgos pa-śul-de-gñis-pas khyad-du-'phags-pa Byañ-chub-kyi-śiñ-druñ yin-pas khyod- kyis thob-par-yod ces/ de'i-druñ-du shal śar-du-phyogs-pa-cig gyis zer/ der bcuñ-gi-bsam-pa-la lha-bzo-ni su-la 'tshol sku'i-rgyu-ni gañ-la bya sñam-pa-la rmi-lam-du luñ-bstañ byuñ-ba/ rgyu-ni gser-la-sogs-pa rin-po-che cha gcig/ ga-bur-la-sogs-pa dri-bzañ cha gcig/ tsan-dan-gyi-lde-gu cha gcig dan/ cha gsum-po de gan-dho-li'i²-nañ-du sogs-la-shog/ de-la tsan-dan go-śrīṣa³ chu-bo Ne-ran-dza-na'-i⁴-gram-na yod-pas bye-ma'i-khuñ-nas tshol-cig shag bdun bar-du mi su'añ ma-btañ-na sku-byuñ-du-'byuñ lha-bzo mi-dgos zer-ro// de-la tsan-dan bye-ma'i-'og-na yod zer-bas btsal kyañ ma-rñed-pas sdug-bsñal-ba-la/ ma na-re glañ-po-che-ñal-[16b] ba'i-śul-du 'oñ-ba-yin de ñas slob-pa rjed-pa-yin/ glañ-po-che tshad-pas-gduñ-tsa-na dri-tshor-nas de'i-steñ-du kho ñal-ba-yin zer-ro// de-nas glañ-po-che ñal-ba'i-śul-na s ci-tsam 'dod-pa rñed-nas shag bdun-du gcig-gis-ma-tshañ-ba'i-dus-su sgo phye zer-ba-cig byuñ-ba-la shag gcig- ma-tshañ sgo mi-'byed-byas-pa⁵ ma der-'dug-pa na-re da-lta Sañs-rgyas kyishal-mthoñ-ba'i-mi ña-las med-pas sku 'dra'am-mi-'dra ñas-blta-dgos gshan-gyi Śan-mi-phyed-do// ñas lo ñi-śu-lon-pa-na Yañ-dag-par-rdzogs-pa'i-saṅs-rgyas-la dge-bsñen-ma'i-sdom-pa blañs-pa-yin ñas lo

1. Read: bkur.

2. Read: la'i.

3. gośrīṣa.

4. Nairāñjanā.

5. Read: -pa-la.

6. Read: gyis.

ne'i-gdan-khri 'dug de'i-steñ-du ci-yañ mi-'jeg-te¹ dad-par-
 byed mdun-du mar-mere ma-chag-pai 'bul Bod-na Śāky-mu-ne
 bshugs-pa de'i-shal-mthoñ-ba-tsam-gyis nan-ron-du mi-'gro
 shes Lho-Bal-na grags-pa-yin gsuñ-ño // yañ rDo-rje-gdan-na
 De-bshin-gsēgs-na Śākya-thub-pa'i-tshems-mche-ba gcig gser-
 gyi-ga'u-i-nan-bshugs-pa dus-bzan-po-la khyams-kyi-steñ-na
 spyān-drañs-nas rdo-leb chen-po padma-'dan-can-shig-gi-steñ-
 du [18a] bshugs-nas dkar-gsum dan sbran-rtsi dan ka-ra'i-chus
 sku-khrus-gsol-nas rdo-de'i-'og-na chu yod-pa-las khrus-chu
 'bab-pa-rnams khyams-kyi-'og-tu zañs mañ-po bzed-nas khrus-
 chab dan bza'-ba gñis-ka 'oñ-bar-byed-dos / tshems de 'chañ-bar
 bcañs-na yar-mar gñis-kar lhag-ge-yoñ-ba-yed gsuñ-ño //
 rDo-rje-gdan-na Thub-pa-chen-po'i shabs-rjes bshugs-pa-ni
 sñon yañ-dag-par-rdzogs-pa'i-Saṅs-rgyas-kyis ma-'oñ-pa'i-dus-
 su sems-can-dbañ-po rnon-pas gsuñ-rab mthoñ-bas kyañ śes-te
 dbañ-portul-po-rnams Saṅs-rgyas 'jig-rten-du byon-nam ma-
 byon snam-nas the-tshom-za-bar 'oñ-bas the-tshom-bcad-pa'i
 phyir-du rdo-la shabs-gñis-kyi-rjes bshag-nas rdo-ba de da-lta'añ
 'dug-ste 'khyams-kyi-śar-sgo'i-phyi-na mar-me'i mchod-sdoñ-
 yod-pa'i-tshu-rol-na nan-gi-sgo-druñ-na rdo-leb gru-bshi-pa
 logs-re-la rgyar khru-gsum-pa 'phañ-du mthe-gañ dan / Chos-
 rje lo-tsā-ba'i-phyag-sor lha yod-pa shabs-rjes-kyi 18b rjya-la riñ-
 thuñ mtho-bshi dan zabs-su sor-bshi khun-mor yod-pa rdo do
 śin-tu-mkhregs-pa dkar-po hrum-hrum yod-pa-la / de-lta- bu'i
 shabs-gñis-kyi-rjes bshag-nas byañ-chub-kyi-śiñ druñ-du stoñ-
 pa-ñid bsgoms-pas saṅs-rgyas-pa'o // shabs-rjes de-la sñon
 mchod-khañ brtsig zer-ba-la pañḍita mkhas-pa-dag na-re 'di
 ma'oñs-pa'i-dus-kyi-sems-can dbañ-po brtul-pos mthoñ-bar-
 bya-ba dgoñs-pa-yin-pas mchod-khañ byas-na sgo yoñ de-la
 dkon-gñer 'oñs / des rñan-pa zer 'oñ mis kyañ mthoñ-ba nan-du
 'gro zer-bas ma-brtsigs-pa'o // de-la slob-dpon Ha-ya-ghoṣa²
 rTa-dbyaṅs-kyis mdzad-pa rdo'i-ka-ba gñis-kyis btegs-pa'i
 rdo'i-rta-babs thog-gi rgya-la khru-do-tsam yod-pa'phred-char
 byuñ-na khrus-chab-tu 'gro-ba shabs-rjes-la sman-gyi-drīs

1. Read ; ste.

2. Hayaghoṣha : Aśvaghoṣha.

byugs-pa-la mgo reg-ciñ-byin-brlabs-shus-pa'i śul yod-pa-'dug
 gsuñ / shabs-rjes de'i-phyi-rol-lcags-ris-kyi-nañ śar-sgo'i thad-
 drañ-na mar-me'i-mchod-sdoñ yod-do // rdo'i-ka-ba sdoñ-po
 [19a] Ita-pu-shig-gi-stein-du rdo-leb sgo-'dra-ba che-ba-cig
 bshag stein-du de-bas chuñ-tsam dañ / yañ de-bas chuñ-tsam
 bshag-pas bañ-rims-'dra-na-rnams-kyi-stein-rnams-su mar-me'i-
 phreñ-ba bkod / de'i spyi-bor mar-me chen-po cig yod-pa de
 ñin-mtshan rgyun-par 'bar-ba rluñ-cher byuñ-kyañ mi-'chi-bar
 lhab-lhab-'zer-ba'i-skad 'on-ba de shabs-rjes dañ / khyams dañ /
 byuñ-ba² chen-po'añ śar-sgo drañ-por yod-pas mthoñ-ba-la
 mchod-pa'o // de'i phyi-na lcags-ris gru-bshi-pa'i-phyogs- re-
 la mda'-rgyañs gañ-gañ yod-pa de-la śar-nub-byañ-gsum-na
 sgo-gsum yod / dPuñ-bzan-gis shus-pa'i-rgyud'-las śar-ram-
 bya-ñam nub-tu sgo gtad-ciñ lho-phyogs-su-ni nam-yañ sgo mi-
 gtod ces gsuñ-pas rDo-rje-gdan-na sgo lhor bstan-pa cig-kyañ
 med-la Bod-kyi-gtsug-lag-khañ-chen-po-rñin-pa-rnams-la'añ sgo
 lhor bstan-pa med-do // sgo-mo-che-gsum-po de'i-nañ-du
 dkon-gñer-rnams-las gshan ñal [19b]-du-med / dkon-gñer Siñ-
 gha-gliñ-pa'i Ñes-sdo-pa⁴ sum-brgya yod-degshan-la bya-dbañ
 med dbus-kyi byañ-sgo'i-sdoñ-na⁵ gtsug-lag-khañ gcig yod /
 de-na spyir gtsug-lag-khañ bcu-gñis yod-do re-re-na rab-tu-
 byuñ-ba bcu-bcu-tsam / drug-bdun-tsam / bcolña-tsam yod /
 grwa-khañ-rnams phyi'i-dbyibs mchod-rten-la nañ khañ-par
 yod-pa kha-dog dkar-po tham-pa-nam-pa yod gsuñ / mañ-
 ponmañ-po yod gsuñ dakar-rtsi-rnamsna'i-lkogs-pa-dañ-'dra-ba-
 cig chu-nañ-nas blañs-nas byugs-pas char-pa byuñ-tsa-na mchod-
 rten-rnams dkar-du 'gro char-pas phyi-mi-'gro gsuñ rDo-rje-
 gdan-gyi-mtha'-ma-rnams nags 'thug-pos bskor-ba'o // rDo-
 rje-gdan-dGe-'dun-gyi-gtsug-lag-khañ shes-bya-bar bla-ma
 Chos-rjes brGyad-stoñ-pa'-i-rgya-dpe gcig khur-nas byon-pas
 dkon-gñer Ñan-thos shig na-re chos ci yin zer / Chos-rjes
 Prajñā-pa⁶-ra-mi-ta⁷ ho Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa yin

1. Read : lhub.

2. Read : Byañ-chub.

3. Read gsuñs.

4. Read : Ñan-thos-pa.

5. Read : gdoñ.

6. Read : pā.

7. Read : tā.

gsuñ¹-pas de na-re khyod dge-sloñ legs-po cig 'dug-pa-la
 theg-pa-chen-po'i-chos rgyab-tu khur-ba-de ma-legs² bor-la
 [20a] chu-la-gyur-cig zer-nas sna-'gebs-su-byuñ, theg-pa-
 chen-po-bya-ba Sañ-rgyas-kyis ma-gsuñ kLu-gub zer-ba'i
 dbaṅ-po-rno-ba-cig-gis bcos-pa-yin zer / yañ Kha-sarpa-ni'am /
 / sGrol-ma'am / de-'dra'i-sku-la phyag-mdzad-pas / khyod
 dge-sloñ legs-pa shig 'dug-pa-la / khyim-pa-la phyag-byed-pa
 ma-legs-so zer / kho-rañ de-kun-gyis phyag-'tshal-ba'i phyag-
 len-pa ltar byed-ciñ thal-mo ya-cig deñ-ñe-byas-nā a-rokṣa-ho
 nad-med-par-gyur-cig zer lan-gcig bskor-ba-mdzad-pa-la su
 yin zer / Bho-ṭa ho Bod yin gsuñ-bas 'khor-rnams yid-ma-
 ches-te Chos-rjes tshems legs-pa dañ sañ-kri-ta'i-skad-la byañ-pa
 des rGya-gar-ba rañ yin-nam sñam-'dug khoñ-rnams na-re
 brdzun²-ma cig 'dug Bod min zer-ba-la dkon-gñer-gcig-gis
 shabs-kyi-sen-mo kyon-ñe-ba gcer-ba mthoñ-bas Beḍ-du 'dug
 lham-gon-pa'i-rtags-la de śadeśaltos-dañ ltos-dañ zer-bas brdzun³
 min-par-go / der khoñ-rnams na-re sañ-kri-ta'i-skad 'di-
 tsam byañ-ba Bod-la 'oñ-ba ci yin zer / ñas bslabs-pa-yin byas
 gsuñ-nas-bshad / rDo-rje-gdan-du dbyar-tshul-'jugzla-ba gsum
 byed -pa de'i-dus-su dge-'dun skad-rig-mi-cig-pa-cig lo-tsā-ba
 bcug-nas lab-pas dgos-pa khri-tsho mañ-po tshogs-nas tshul-
 thon-pa dañ rañ-rañ-gi yul-phogs-su 'gyes-par-'dug gsuñs-so //
 rDo-rje-gdan-na Tāra⁴ sGrol-ma'i-lha-khañ shes-pa yod de-na
 lha-mo rdo'i-rañ-byon dañ-po shal-phyir-gzigs-pa shig yod-pas
 dkon-gñer sñam-nas mchod-pa nañ-du 'bul-ba-la shal-phyir-
 gzigs-pa 'di ma-legs sñam-pa-la 'o-na ya gsuñ-nas shal nañ-du
 log-gis-bsgyur-basshal-'gyur-Tā-ra⁵ shes grags-te da-lta'añ rdo' i-
 sku de 'jiñ-pa log-ge-bḥugs-so // lha-khañ der Jo-bo-rjes
 byon-pas sgo dbye-ma-dgos-par rañ phye-nas byon-pas shal-'gyur
 Tā-ra⁶ i-shal-nas rgyu sems-can-gyi-sa-nas 'bras-bu Sañs-rgyas-
 [21a] kyī-sar 'gro-bar-'dod-na byañ-chub-kyi-sems sbyoñs-

1. Read : gsuñs.

2. Read : rdzun.

3. Read : rdzun.

4. Read : rā.

5. Read : rā.

6. Read : rā.

gśig r̥suñ²-pa-yin-skad gsuñs / yañ sñon Ñan-thos-kyi-ston-pa
 cig ches 20 khyer-nas 'chi-bar thag-chod-nas theg-pa-chen-po-la
 sGrol-ma shes-pa chu'i-jigs-pa-las-sgrol-ba yod zer sñam-nas
 Ārya Tā-rā³ shes btud-ciñ-bos-pas chu-kluñ de'i-dkyil-du
 sGrol-ma byon-nas khyod skyid-ciñ-rgyags-tsa-na ña mi-dran
 sdug-ciñ-phoñs-tsa-na sGrol-ma sGrol-ma⁴ zer-bar-'dug 'di-na
 phar-la-soñ gsuñ-nas phyag-gyas-pas lam-bstan chu de sked-par
 chad-nas mi de thar / des phyi mig-bltas-pas lha-mo de chu-
 kluñ-gi-nañ-na phyag-rgya deñ-ñe-'dug-pa zla-bo-mañ-po-la
 bstan-pas rdo'i-skur gyur-nas-'dug-pa de spyan-drañs-nas da-lta
 Tā-ra⁴ sGrol-ma'i-lha-khañ-na bshugs-te chu-kluñ sGrol-ma
 shes grags-so // yañ hu-lu-tā shes bshad-pa'i-sGrol-ma shes-pa
 sñon yañ-dag-par-rdzogs-pa'i-Sañs-rgyas sañs-rgya-ba-la bdud-
 kyi-bar-chad-brt sams-pas sGrol-mas bdud-la khrel-rgad⁵-mdzad-
 ciñ-bshad-pas shal-la phyag-gyas-pa-bkab-pa'i-sku-rañ-byon yañ
 bshugs-so // yañ sñon mi gdon-gyis-gñen-pa shig sGrol-ma'i-sgom-
 bzlas-byas-pas mdun-du sGrol-ma byon-té ha-ha-ha-ha gsuñs-ma-
 thag-tu nad-kun shi / sñā-ma-bshin sGrol-ma'i-rdo'i-skur-gyur-
 nas bshugs-te ha-ha Tā-ra⁶ shes grags-so // bla-ma Chos-rje
 Chag-lo-tsā-ba'i rDo-rje-gdan-gzigs-pa'i⁷le'u-ste-lña-pa'o //

Chapter VI

rDo-rje-gdan-gyi-gan-dho-li⁷ de-ni sñon bram-ze'i-khe'u cuñ-gis
 bsheñs-pa de'i-riñ Sañs-rgyas yonś-su-mya-ñan-las-'das-nas lo
 brgya-brgyad-cu-tsam lon-pa-na chos-rgyal Mya-ñan-med-kyis
 brtsigs sñā-manāñ du bcug-nas sheñ cher-btañ-nas bsheñs-pa-ste
 phyimchod-rten-gyi-dbyibs-la nañ gtsug-lag-khañ-gi-rnam-pa-can-
 no/rā-dza dharma-a-śo-ka chos-rgyal Mya-ñan-med-kyis bsheñs-
 pa de-ni Thub-pa-chen-pos lun-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-po ste de-yañ
 sñon sTon-pa mÑan-yod-du bsod-sñoms-lagśegs-pa-na bud-med-
 [22a] shig-gis 'bras-thug phul / mo'i-bu-byis-pa-shig-gi byis-
 sa'i gseb-nz rtse-shiñ duz-pas mthoñ-ste dod-nas bye-ma
 sñim-pa-gañ thogs-nas byis-pa zla'o shig-gis sgu-stegs-byas-
 pa'i-steñ-du lañs-nas phul-ba-dañ sTon-pas kyañ lhuñ-bzed

1. Read : śig.

4. Read : rā.

7. Read : la.

2. Read : gsuñs.

5. Read : rgod.

3. Read : rā.

6. Read : rā.

smad-nas bshes-so // mas bu-la de-ltar ma-byed ces rgol-bas
sTon-pas bu 'di-la ma-rgol-cig 'di-la¹ dan-ba'i-dad-pa yod-pas
bsod-nams chen-po thob-par-'gyur-ro // shes gsuñs-na² bye-ma-
rnams Kun-dga'-bo-la gtad-de bgrañ-du-bcug-pas gyañs bye-ba
cig'-byuñ-ba dan / Kun-dga'-bo³ ña mya-ñan-las-'das-nas lo
brgya-lon-pa-nas groñ-khyer Me-tog-can shes-bya-bar rgyal-po
Mya-ñan-med ces-bya-bar gyur-nas mchod-rten De-bshin-
gśegs-pa'i-rin-srel¹-gyi-sñiñ-po-can bye-ba-phrag cig nub-
cig-la bsheñs-par-'gyur-ro // sgu-stegs-byed-pa'i-byis-pa 'di-ni
gnod-sbyin Śiñ-rta shes-bya-bar gyur-nas mchod-rten bsheñs-
pa'i grogs-byed-par-'gyur-ro shes luñ-bstan-no // de-nas bye-
[22b] ma-'bul-ba'i-byis-pa de lhar-skyes-nas ña yonś-su-mya-
ñan-las-'das-nas lo brgya-na rgyal-po Mya-ñan-med-du skyes-te
khrims gsar-pa bcos-nas la-la bde-ba-la bkod-de lha-dañ-'dra /
la-la dmag-'dren-ciñ-'thab-rtod-byed-pas lha-min-dañ-'dra /
la-la chad-pa-bcad-pas dmyal-ba-da ñ-'dra-shiñ rigs-drug-gi-
spyod-pa tshañ-bar-yod-pa'i-skabs-su gSer-gliñ-gi-dge-tshul gcig
rgyal-po'i-yul-khams-su 'oñs-pa-na des rgyal-po'i-btsun-mo
khrus-byed-pa'i-rgyan-bya-ro-gis-khyer-ba-shig rñed-nas de
khrom-du khyer-te 'di su'i yin dris-pas khyod-kyis rkus-zer-te
chad-pa phog-nas rgyal-po na-re sñar dge-tshul 'di-'dra-ba
gsod-ma-myoñ 'di mar-khu khol-bar-tshos-la-bsod-cig zer /
blon-po-rnams-kyis shag gsum btsos kyañ ma-śi-bar zil-ba khrom-
me 'dug-pas rgyal-pos khyod su yin dris-pa-la ña'i mkhan-po
dGra-bcom-pa shig yod / ñas kyañ rgyun-du-shugs-pa thob-pas
mes mi-tshugs-pa yin [23a] byas-pas rgyal-po dad-pa-skyes-te
chosshu zer-bas chos bsad-pas rgyal-po na-re chad-pa-bcad-pas
sdig'oñ-na bsags-pa-byed-pa'i-thabs shu zer-ba-la dge-tshul-gyis
ñan thabs mi-śes ña'i mkhan-po-lashu-dgos zer-te dGra-bcom-pa
spyan-drans-nasshus-pas rgyal-po khyod-kyis nub-cig-la mchod-
rten bshin-gśegs-pa'i-rin-srel²-gyi-sñiñ-po-can bye-ba bsheñs-śig
dañ sdig-pa dag-par-'gyur-ro shes gsuñ³-pas rgyal-po na-re ñas de-
tsam mi-zin rin-srel⁴ yañ mi-rñed zer / dGra-bcom-pa na-re

1. Read : bsrel.

2. Read : bsrel.
Read : gsuñs.

4. Read : brels.

khyod Sañs-rgyas-kyis-luñ-bstan-pa-yin-pas gnod-sbyin bsgrubs-
 na bshens-nus-la riñ-srel¹ yañ rgyal-po Ma-skyes-dgra'i-skal-ba
 Ma-ga-lha'i-bre drug gser-gyi-bum-par bcug-nas rGyal-po'i-
 khab-kyi-² 'Od-³ma'i-tshal-na sbas-yod-pas de bton-pas-chog
 gsuñs-so // de-nas rgyal-pos riñ-srel⁴ 'don-du-phyin-pas
 mtshon-cha'i-'khor-los-bsruñs-nas len-ma-nus-te 'khor-lo de /
 chus-bskor-bar-śes-nas chu de gañ-nas 'oñ dris-pas gshan śes/
 pa-ma-byuñ-ba-la rgan-mo shig na-re lho-nub-kyi-ri ya-gi-nas
 chu 'oñ-ḅa-yin zer / ri de rGyal-po'i-khab-kyi-lho-phyogs-na
 śor-nub-tu nar-mor 'phra-la riñ-ba yod de'i byañ-log-na mar
 'Od-⁵ma'i-tshal sño-thib-se-ba yod ri de'i mgo rGyal-po' ii-khab
 kyī lho-nub-na yod-pas der rkos-pa-dañ rdo'i-sgrom-nas chu
 gro-ba gcig 'dug-pa de bcad-te mtshon-cha-'khor thag-bcad-nas
 bltas-pas sgrom-chuñ-shig-gi-stein-na yi-ge 'dug-pa-la ma-'oñs-
 pa'i-dus-su rgyal-po dbul-po dbul-po shig-gis rñed-par-'gyur-ro
 bya-ba 'dug-pas rgyal-po khros-te ña dbul-po min 'di rñed-pa de
 gshan shig yin-'oñ zer-te ña-rgyal skyes-pa-na dGra-bcom-pa'i-
 shal-nas ña-rgyal ma-mdzad-pargus-par-loñ-cig gsuñs-pas ñan-te
 bltas-pas sgrom-chuñ de'i-nañ-nas gser-gyi-bum-pa riñ-srel⁶
 bshugs pa'i zur-bshi-na no-bu rin-po-che 'od-'bar-ba bshi 'dug-
 pas de re-re-'i-rin yañ rgyal-po'i-rgyal-srid-gyis ma-khyer-bar-
 'dug-pas rgyal-pos rañ dbul-por śes-te sñon [24a] rgyal-po loñs-
 spyod-can byuñ-'dug sñam-nas ña-rgyal chag-go de-nas dGra-
 bcom-pa de'i gsuñ-bshin ñan-te gnod-sbyin bsgrubs-pas gnod-
 sbyin chen-po Śiñ-rta shes-pa dkar-po-la-dga'-ba de grub-nas
 bka'-bsgos-pa-tsam-gyis las bsgrub-pa shig byuñ-ba sde'i rdzu-'
 phrul-gyis thog-mar rDo-rje-gdan-gyi-gan-dho-li⁷d añ / rDo-rje-
 gdan-gyi śar chu-bo Na-rañdza-na'i-'gram-du Bha-ga-ra-'hu-la
 Jo-bo-choñ-kyi-'byuñ-gnas shes-pa'i mchod-rten chen-po nub-
 gcig-la bshens de'i-nañ-na riñ-srel⁸ phul phyed-dañ-do bshugs-so //
 de'i nub phyi-ma nam-phyed-la gnod-sbyin des 'Dzam-bu'i-

1. Read : bsrel.
2. Read : 'O-.
3. Read : bsrel.
4. Read : 'O-.
5. Read : bsrel.
6. Read : la.
7. Read : rā.
8. Read : bsrel.

glin-gi-sa'i-cha kun-tu rin-srel¹ bshugs-pa'i mchod-rten de'i
 srog-sin-can bye-ba gcig-char-du bshens-nas gnod-sbyin- gyis
 bka'-bshin mchod-rten-rnams grub-yod-pa gzigs-sig ces zer-te /
 rgyal-po mthus khur-nas mchod-rten-yod-pa-rnam su skad-cig-
 gis phyin-nas gser-dñul-gyi-mchod-pa dan rgyan phul-te dge-
 ba'i-rtsa-ba 'dis bla-na-med-pa'i-saṅs-rgyas thob-par-gjur-cig
 [24b] ces smon-lam btab-bo // 'lo brgyad-cu-rtsa-bdun-
 gyi-bar-du mchod-rten-rnams mchod-par-byas-ste spyir dgun-lo
 brgya dan lña-bcu bshugs-nas 'das-te lhar-skyes-so // stobs-kyis
 'khor-lo-bsgyur-ba chos-kyi-rgyal-po 'di'i lun-bstan 'Jam-dpal-
 rtsa-ba'i-rgyud-nas rgyas-par-gsun-te² mañ-bas ma-bris-so //
 rgyal-po La-gtam bya-ba rin-po-che'i-phreñ-ba'i-le'u-gsum-pa'i-
 skabs dan ñag-gi-dbañ-phyug grags-pa'i 'chi-ba bslu-bar chos-
 rgyal Mya-ñan-med bshin-no // shes - pa'i-skabs-su lo-rgyus
 'di gsunṣ-so chos-rgyal Mya-ñan-med-pa'i-le'u-ste-drug-pa'o //

Chapter VII

rDo-rje-gdan-nas sar-du dpag-tshad gcig-tsam-na Ne-rañdza-na³
 dGa'-skyes ces de lho-nub-mtshams-nas byañ-sar-du babs-pa /
 dbyar ko-ba'i-gru dgos dgun gru med kyañ thar-tsam-yod chu-bo-
 de'i-'gram meda'-rgyañ-do-tsam-na sñon bCom-ldan-'das sa-khul
 de-rañ-du dka'-thub-mdzad-pa'i-dus-kyi sku-rid-pa'i tshul
 [25a] rdo-las-byas-pa sñan-du byis-pa gñis-kyis śiñ-bu brtsugs-te
 'di śi-ba-yin-nam zer blta-ba'i-dus-kyi-tshul / byis-pa gñis kyañ
 rdo-las-byas-pa byin-rlabs-can cig bshugs-so // Ma-ga-dha'i
 brag cig-gi-śod-na / mdo-sde sKye-rabs-nas gsunṣ-pa'i sñon
 thub-pa chen-po byañ-chub-sems-dpa'i rgyal-bu ma-hā-satwa⁴
 sñiñ-stobs-chen-po'am / sems-dpa'i-chen-po Semṣ-dpa'i-chen-po
 shes-bya-bar sku-skye-ba-bshes-pa'i-dus stag-mo phrug-gu-skyes
 pas ltogs-drir⁵ śi-la khad-pa-la gzigs-nas de-la rañ-lus sbyin-par-
 btañ-ba'i-sku brag-gi-steñ-nas mchod-la-khad-pa dan / mchoñ-
 zin-pa'i-dus-su sku stag-mos śa-za-ba'i-tshul-gyis stag-mo-
 dan-bcas-pa'i rdo'i-sku bshugs / byin-rlabs-can-du grags-pas
 mar-me dan mchod-pa-'bul-ba mañ-du 'oñ-ba-cig'dug /

r. Read : bsrel.

2. Read : ste.

3. Nairāṇjanā.

4. Read : sattva.

5. Read : grir.

de-la stag-mo'i-gtsug-lag-khañ shes grags-pa-yin gsuñs-so //
yul de'i sa-cig-na sñon byañ-chub-sems-dpa'-las brañ-rtsi phul-
ba'isku phyag-na lhuñ-bzed bsnams-pa spre'u-dañ-bcas-pa'i rdo'i-
sku byin-rñs-can lha-khañ sgo-śar-du blta-ba-shig-na bshugs-
pa / de'i-sgc-druñ-na khron-pa skam-po so-phag-gi-rtsig-pas-
mtha'-skor-ba-cig kyañ 'dug gsuñs-so / rDo-rje-gdan-nas
lho-phyogs-su zla-ba gcig phyin-pa'i-sa-na mu-stegs-kyi lha
So-ba¹-nā-tha Zla-ba-mgon-po-yod-sa shes-pa der slob-dpon
Birwa-pa-la mu-stegs-kun na-re ñed-kyi lha-la phyag-'tshol-cog
zer-ba-la phyag-'tshal-bas-chog-ste khyed mi-dga'o gsuñ-bas mi-
dga'-ba mi-'oñ zer / 'o-na rgyal-po dpañ-por-'jug-dgos gsuñ-nas
dpañ-por-bcug-nas lha-chen-po de-la mdun-la phyag-gcig btsal-
bas tshal-pa gñis-su gas-so // yañ bshogs-nas-btsal-bas tshal-pa
bshir gas-so // der khoñ na-re / phyag-ma-'tshal zer kyañ
lha-gcig-la phyag-'tshal-bas lha de' dar-sig-sig-'dug kyañ gas-
su-ma-btub-nas gzigs-pas de'i spyi-bo-na nañ-pa'i-lha sNañ-ba
mtha'-yas cig [26a] 'dug-nas de gsal-te phyag-'tshal-bas tshal-
par-shags / de-nas khoñ-rnams na-re da phyag-ma-'tshal
zer-ba-la / slob-dpon-gyis 'o-na khyod lha-mchod-pa'i ri-phyug²
sum-brgya sum-brgya nañ-re-la gsod-pa' di bshag-nas swa³-ba
khal sum-brgya sum-brgyas mchod-par-gyis-śig gsuñs-pas
de-tsug byed-do zer-nas dus de-nas phyugs gsod-pa de med-pa-
yin-no // de-la phul-ba'i swo-ba'i-zan-rnams da-lta'an
'gron-po lam-du 'gro-na-rnams-la śin-tu phan-no // swo⁴ ba
de'bras-ma-sprugs-pa-la zer-ba-yin / ma-sprug-pa yañ lkog-ma-
phud-pa-la zer-ba-yin gsuñs-so // lha-de-la gsol-ba-btab-na
bu nor 'dod-na bu nor 'oñ lo yañ Ma-ga-dha-na mu-stegs-kyi
lha de-wi⁵ Ka⁶-li⁷ Lha-mo Nag-mo shes grags-pa de rdo'i-
sku-la tsam-pa mchod-khañ mdun-na khron-pa skam-po dañ
rdo'i-kyor-kyor yod-pa-'dug-pa'i sgo śar-du-blta-ba-yod gsuñs /
[26b] rdo'i-lha-mo des sñon lkug-pa-cig-la gtam-smras dños-
grub byin-pas pañdi-tar-gyur-pa'i lo-rgyus-ni phyi-rol-pa'i-

1. Read : ma.

3. Read : so.

5. Read - wi.

7. Read : li.

2. Read : phyugs.

4. Read : so.

6. Read : kà.

lha-la gsol-ba-btab-pas kyañ tshe 'dir 'jig-rten 'di'i dños-grub
ster-nus-te / sñon rGya-gar-na rgyal-po-cig-la bu-mo sam-
kri-ta'i-sgra śin-tu mkhas-pa shig yod-pas de yab-kyi khyim-
thab-du-gtoñ-byas-pa-la bu-mo na-re ña-rañ-bas sgra
mkhas-pa'i pañdi-ta cig yod-na 'gro gshan-su thoñ-thoñ-la
ña mi-'gro zer-skad / rgyal-pos sgra su mkhas dris-pas pañdi-ta-
rnams-kyi-nañ-nas Ba-ra-ru-tsi² mChog³sred mkhas shes grags-pa
dañ / bu-mo khyod Ba-ra-ru-tsi-la btañ-ño byas-pas bu-mo na-te
mChog-sred-pas ña-rañ mkhas ña mi-'gre zer-te 'gror-ma-btub-
po/de-nas mChog-sred thugs-log-ste bu-mo 'di-la khyo lkugs-pa
'orñ-bar-bya-dgos sñam-nas lkugs-pa tshol-du-byon-pas mi-cig
śiñ-gi yal-ga'i steñ-du shon-nas yal-ga de'i rtsa-ba gcod-par-
[27a] gzigs-te lkugs-pa-yin-par mkhyen śiñ chag-nas mi de
rba-btu-lhuñ-nas byuñ-bas de-la khyod rgyal-po'i-bu-mo-dañ
sdeb-tu-gshug-cig gsuñ-nas khrid-de rGya-gar-na sloñ-ba-la
sñon-du śis-pa brjod-dgos-pas lkugs-pa-de-la Om swasti zer-ba
bslab³-pas śes-tsam-byuñ skad de-nas rgyal-po'i-pho-brañ-du
khrid-nas 'di pañdi-ta chen-po yin-te ña'i slob-dpon yin rgyal-po'-
bu-mo 'di-la ster-dgos byas-pas de-ltar yin-na ster-zer-ro //
der śis-pa brjod-pas bred-dam stabs-ñams ci-shig-ltar soñ-nas
Om swasti zer-ba ma-byuñ-nas u-śa-ṭa-ra zer-ba cig byuñ-bas
de-la de-ma-thag-tu mChog-sred-kyis sgra-bśad byas-te tshigs-
su-bcad-pa-legs-pa cig mdzad-pa-ni U-ma-ya⁴ sa-hi-to Ru-ṭa //
Śi-ka-ra⁵ sa-ha Biṣṇu-nā // ṭam-kha-ṭwāñ-ga śu-la-pā-ñi //
[27b] rakṣantu Śi-ba sā-dā⁶ // Bod-skad-du U-ma-dañ-bcas
Drag-po⁷ dañ // bDe-byed-dañ-ni Khyab-'jug dañ // phyag-
na ṭam-ki-bswa-pa'mi-⁷ gduñ⁶ // Shi-bas rtag-tu bsrñ-
gyur-cig / ces-pa'i-sdeb-sbyor-gyi-miñ-ni dByañs-can-gyi-
mgul-rgyan bya-ba yin shes bcos-te bśad-nas pañdi-ta chen-po
'di skad gsuñ-ba-yin byas-pas rgyal-po dañ bu-mos gus-nas
lkugs-pa de-la bu-mo byin-nas khyim-thabs-byas-so // mChog-

1. Read : kyis.
2. Vararuchi
3. Read : bslabs.
4. Read : yā.
5. Read : Śamkara.
6. Read : Sādā.
7. khatvāṅga.
8. Read : mduñ.

sred de-nas bro-sso // der bu-mos lkugs-pa de bor-na ni sdebs
 par-byas-pas rgyal-po'i-khriims dan 'gal / de-la mi-dga'-nas
 sdañ-po-byas-so / der kho sdug-drag-pas Lha-mo Nag-mo'i
 sku de'i-di-ri-du phyin-nas gsol-ba 'debs-śiñ ña med-par-shu
 shus-pas shāḡ gñis lon-tsam-ṇa ıgyal-po'i-bu-mo de lkugs-pa
 śi-na mi-legs sñam-nas gyog-mo-la go-la¹ dan bza'-ba bskur-has
 btañ-bas gyog-mo rnam-s-kyi go-la mur-ba'i mur-'phro kha-nas
 bton-nas lkugs-pa'i-khar bcug-te brñas-so // de-ltar Lha-mo
 sñam-nas gyog-mos kyañ brñas-par-'dug lkugs-pa 'di-la dños-grub
 gcig ster-dgos² sñam-nas gyog-mo-cig-la sku des 'gram-pa-la
 thal-cagṣ rgyab lkugs-pa-la khyod dños-grub ci 'dod gsuñs
 der khos sam-kri-ta'i-sgra mkhas-par-śes-par-'dod byas-pas
 de-ma-thag-tu mkhas-par-gyur-te / lag-pa gyas-su me-tog
 padma'i sdoñ-po rtsub-mo se-ba'i-ldem-bu³ 'dra-ba bzuñ /
 gyon utpa-la'i-sdoñ-po 'jam-po khyer-te khos sgo-druñ-nas
 bran-mo-la 'phrin-bkur-te / rgyal-po'i-bu-mo-la spriñ-pa /
 bdag-gi-lag-pa-gyas-na padma cig // „gyon-na'añ de-bshin
 utpa-la me-tog // 'jam-po'i-yu-ba'am rtsub-mo'i-yu-ba-can //
 gañ 'dod smros-śig padma'i-mig-can-ma // shes byas-pas /
 rgyal-po'i-bumo na-re / tshig-sbcad sñan-ñag legs / lha-
 mo grub-'dug zer-te khyim-thabs-byas-so // Lha-mo Nag-
 mo grub-pas Kā-li-dā-sa Nag-mo'i-khol-po hshes-bya-ba mkhas-
 pa cig byuñ-ste / de'i sgra-bstan-bcos brtsams-pa-la / Kā-li-pa
 byākaraṇa⁴ [28b] shes byar / byā-ka-ra-ṇa Bod-skad-du /
 luñ-ston-pa'am / brda-sprod-pa'am / gsal-bar-byed-pa-dañ
 gsum-du 'gyur gsuñs-so // bstan-bcos de-la dus-deñ-sañ rGya-
 gar-na ñan-bśad kyañ 'ga'-re yod / de-bas Tsandra-go-mis
 mdzad-pa de dar-bar-yod gsuñs-so // Nā-ro-pa'i sgrub-gnas
 Phu-la-ha-ri ni Nā-lendra'i byañ-phyogs-kyi nags-khrod-cig-na
 rtsa'i-dpyil-po sgo-khyog-rims-pa-gsum-can shig-pa dan / ma-
 shig-pa mañ-po mañ-po yod rtsig-pas-brtsigs-pa-med da-lta
 sdod-mi'añ'dug-gsuñs-so // dur-khrodchen-po-bSil-ba-tshae-
 ni Nā-lendra'i nub-byañ-na-nags-kyi po-chen-po-shig-gi-dkyil-na

1. golā.

2. Read : lcag.

3. sdoñ-po?

4. Vyākaraṇa.

nags-med-pa'i-stoñ che-ba cig 'dug-go nags-khrod de-na dug-sbrul
 kyañ mañ-ste lus gshan khra-bor yod-pa-la kha-nag-pa mi'i²
 brla-tsam-pa śiñ-khrod-du 'gyus-pas śiñ-gi-rtse-mo-rnams 'gul-
 shiñ phrug-phrug-byed-pa-yod / dom-nag mthoñ-bas kyañ
 'jigs-pa-'dug gsuñs-so // bla-mas lan-cig lhuñ-bled-du ras gril-
 nas [29a] rgyab-tu khur-nas chu-skor-na thag-rin-po yod-pas
 chu-cig-la brgal-bas chus khyer-ba-las chu pha-gir thar-tsam-
 byuñ-ste mi-nag-po gcig byuñ-ba-la chu-las sgrol-dañ byas-pas
 kho na-re ña rigs-ñan yin zer-te / sgrol-bar-ma-byuñ rigs-ñan-
 gyis mi-rigs-bzañ-ba-la lag-pa reg-tu-mi-ruñ zas-za-ba-la mig-
 gis bltas-na zas-'phro 'bor-dgos / rigs-ñang-yi-rtags rna-ba-la bug-
 pa med / gshan-rnams rna-ba bug-pa-can 'oñ / thar-thor rigs-
 ñan byuñ-na za-ma-zar-mi-btub-pas du-rañ-gatstsha¹ pha-gir
 soñ zer gsuñs / rDo-rje-gdan dañ Nā-lendra mu-stegs-pa'i

Chapter VIII

rten byin-rlabs-can mañ-po gzigs-pa'i-le'u-ste-drug-pa'o² //
 spyir rGya-gar-na mu-stegs-po mañ / de-bas ñan-thos
 ñuñ / de-bas Theg-chen-pa ñuñ / Bod-kyi-the-gchen-
 pa-bas kyañ rGya-gar-gyi-the-gchuñ-ba phan-sems che /
 sloñ-ba byuñ-na mu-stegs-kyis kyañ ster-pa yul-chos- su
 'dug / mu-stegs-ma-yin-pa'i-mi-kun tha-mal-pa yañ dad-pa śin-tu
 che-bas rab-tu-byuñ-ba mthoñ-na / Rā-hu-la he ban-dha-
 nam³ Kyai Jo-bo-la phyag-'tshal-lo zer-nas phyag-'tshal / rten-
 nam pha-ma khañ-pa'i steñ-'og-na thad-ka'i-steñ-du mi-'gro /
 gos ñur-smrig zer-ba de dmar-po-la zer-ba-yin de rab-tu-byuñ-
 ba'i-gos yin-pas lhan-pa sor-bshi-tsam-gyi-dum-bu lam-na
 'dug kyañ spyir byis-pas kyañ len-no // Ma-ga-dha'i-sa-cha-la
 groñstoñ-lña-brgya-bcu-gñis yod gsuñs-so / Gri-dha-ku- -ta-
 parba-ta⁴ Bya-rgod-phuñ-po'i-ri de-ni mthon-po med spyir
 rGya-gar-na ri-med Bya-rge-dphuñ-po'i-ri de Bod-kyi-ri 'brin-po
 tsam-pa de bor-yod-pa / rtse-mo zlum khyil⁵-le-ba phyogs-
 thams-cad nags-kyis kheñs-pa / ri-sul-la-la-nas chu 'bab-pa /
 la-la-na brag yod-pa stag dañ dom dañ dred dañ gcan gzan

1. *Dūrañ gaccha.*

3. *Vandanam.*

5. Read : 'khyil.

2. Read : bdun-pa'o.

4. Grudhrakūṭa-parvata.

mañpo-gnas der mi-phal-gyis 'gro-mi-nus-pa grub-pa- [30a]
 'thob-pa'i-paṇḍi-ta dug-sbrul dan gcan-gzan-gyis mi-tshugs-pa
 'ga'-re-tsañ bshugs-pa/ dbyar-śiñ dan rtsa thams-cad skyes-pas
 ri mdog sñon-por sñan-ba / dbyar-śiñ dan rtsa thams-cad
 skyes-pas ri mdog sñon-por sñan-ba / dgun-rtsa dan 'jag-ma
 gañ-yañ-yod-pa-rnams rkam-pas kha-dog skya-bor sñan-ba /
 bya-rabs śiñ-rabs bshin-dā bya-dan śiñ sna-tshogs yod-pa'o //
 der Chos-rje Chag lo-tsā-bas mi mañ-po-la rñan-pa byin-nas
 la-la mda'-gshu thogs / gcan-gzan 'bros-pa'i-thabs-la la-las rñā
 brduñ / duñ dan cha-lañ dan 'bud-krol mañ-po thogs / la-las
 sñug-phon rlon-pa-la me-sbar-nas tsag-chol chen-po 'or-ba
 khyer-nas-byon / ri de'i-stein-nas nams-dga'-la dri-sh'm-pa sñon
 śaṅs-rgyas-kyis chos-gsuñs-pa'i chos-khris yin rer-ba dan gzim-
 khañ yin rjes ra-ri yod-pa so-phag- gi-dum-bu lag-pa-tsam-pa
 dan / de-bas che-tsam-pa ca-le-co-le yod-pa ri'i-spyi-bo de-nas
 nags-med-pa rtsa 'jam-po skyes-pa / de'i spyi-bo-na mchod-rten
 so-phag-gis-rtsigs-pa bañ-rim-gcig-pa-can logs-re-la 'dom phyed-
 dan-do yod-pa / Thañ-po-che' ibZod-pa-brag-gi de-tsam-pa
 gcig-la bum-pa de-bas che-ba gcig yod / de'i- [30b] druñ-du
 Bha-ga-wan-gyis¹ chos-gsuñs-pa-yin-la gnās byin-rlabs-can
 de-'dra-ba 'dug / de-nas sa śaṅs-te sa de rten-gyi-shabs-bsdōm-
 pa-la-sogs-pa'i-nañ-du bshugs-pa-yin gcan-gzan sbrul-gyis mi-
 tshugs-pa'i sgrub-pa-po cig de-na bshugs-te lo gsum lon zer
 de-la mi-kun 'dun-pa 'dug gsuñs // Chos-rje Chag lo-tsā-bas
 Bya-rgod-phuñ-po'i-ri gzigs-śiñ ri de-la byon-pa'i-le'u-ste-bdun-
 pa'o² //

Chapter IX

rGyal-po'i-khab ni sñon mi'i-khañ-pa-la mi-ma-yin-gyis
 me-gtoñ-bar-'dug-pa de-la rgyal-pos śes-te thams-cad mel-
 tshe-cher-gyis-śig sñon-ma su'i khañ-pa-la me-śor-ba de phyis
 nags-khrod-du khañ-pa byed-dgos-so shes-pa'i-khrims-bcas-pa-la
 rgyal-po'i-khañ-par me-śor-te / nags-su rgyal-pos brtsigs-pa-la
 ñin-morbrtsigs-pa nub-mo lha-'dras bśig-pa-las rgyal-po'i-khab
 yin-no shes ya-thems-la bris-pas 'jigs-ma-nus-te / des-na
 rGyal-po'i-khab-bo / sñon mi-khyim brgyad-brgya yod skad /

1. *Bhagavān*.

2. Read : brgyad-pa'o.

[31a] da-lta drug-brgya yod-pa-la khañ-pa bshi-brgya so-
phag-gis brtsigs-pa yod / rGyal-po'i-khab-kyi byañ-na chu-tshan
gcig yod lho-phyogs-na ri-śar-nub-tu nar-mor rin-ba deś sa-'dam-
pa shig yod-pa de'i 'dab rGyal-po' i-khab nos nar-la 'Od'-
ma'i-tshal-gyi nags rin-po gshan-pas sño-bar yod / ri de'i-mgo
nub-nos-na phar ri-med-pa'i-bar nag-po-la lam-cig yod-pa de-la
phyin-pas ri-chuñ de'i phag lho-phyogs-na Bya-rgod-phuñ-po'i-
ri yod-do // Bya-rgod-phuñ-po'i-ri dan rGyal-po'i-khab-kyi-
bar-na dpag-tshad gsum yod gsuñs-so / rGyal-po'i-khab der
pañ-chen Ya-śo-mitra-la chos mañ-du gsan gsuñs / rGyal-po'i-
khab gzigs-pa'i-le'u-ste-brgyad-pa'o² //

Chapter X

Nāendra shes-pa mi'i-dbañ-po sñon rgyal-pos bshens-pas de skad
grags / de-ni chu-bo Ganigā'i phar-'gram-na nin-gñis-spa-
sleb-kyi-sa-na rDo-rje-gdan-nas lho-bun-tu phyin-pas gro-
sña-sleb-kyi-sa-na [31b] yod Rin-chen-'phren-bar sñon-gyi-
rgyal-pos chos-kyi-gshi / shes-pas skabs-su gsuñs-pa-la de-na
dbu-rtse chen-po bdun dbus-su bsgrigs-pa-yod / gñis-ma-gtogs-
pa rgyal-pos bshens gñis slob-dpon chen-po-gñis-kyis re-re
bshens-pa / de'i-phyi-rol byañ-phyogs-na mar bsgrigs-pa'i dbu-
rtse chen-po bcu-bshi / de'i-phyi-rol-na a -ri-kha³ shes-pa'i
gtsug-lag-khañ chuñ-ba brgyad-bcu-tsam yod / de phal-cher
rgyal-pos bshens / la-la btsun-mos bshens-pa'o / / Tu-ru-khas⁴
ñams-dma'-bar-byas-pas shabs-tog-byed-pa dan mchod-pa-
'bul-mkhan med-pa śas-che-ste / so-pha-gis-brtsigs-pas ma-
shig-pa mañ-po 'dug / de-na bla-ma pañdita chen-po Ra⁵-
hu-la-śrī⁶-bhadra dPal-sgra-gcan-'dzin-bzañ-po mkhas-grub
btsun-pa'i-dge-sloñ dguñ-lo dgu-bcu lag-pa shes-pa de bshugs /
Ma-ga-dha'iryal-po Bu-ddha-se-nas bla-ma de-la-sogs-pa'i-
pañdita bshi-tsam dan bandhe bdun-bcu-tsan re'i shabs-thogs-
byed-pa Dza-ya-de-wa⁷ / rGyal-ba'i-lha [32a] shes-bya-ba'i-
phyug-po-gcig-gis rin-po-che'i-khri bsams-pa yod-na sa-ha-li

1. Read : 'O.

2. Read : dgu-pa'o.

3. Ārāmika.

4. Turuṣhka.

5. Rā.

6. śrī-.

7. Jayadeva.

zer-ba sbrañ-skyobs shes-pa-ste gnam -yol-la phyogs bshir yañ
 yol-ba btags / de'i-nañ rluñ-yab dan mar-me'i sbrañ-bu bdas-te
 med-par-byas-nas phyogs-bshi'i yol-ba phab-te¹ bla-ma gzims-se //
 'dzom-'dzom mo phal-che-ba yañ de-ltar bskur-bsti²-byed-dgos
 gsuñs-so // gtsug-lag-khañ 'Dha-na-ba dan / Ghu-na-ba
 ces-pa gñis-su chos-gshi pher-byed gsuñ / spyir gtsug-lag-khañ
 brgyad-cu-rtsa-bshi yod-pa-la da-lta mi-khyim brgyad-cu-
 rtsa-bshi yod / rten khyad-par'-phags-pa bshi bshugs-te /
 Jo-bo Kha-sarpa-ñi'i rdo-sku dan / 'Jam-ñpal-'jin-yon³ dan /
 Ye-śes-mgon-po'i rdo-sku ran-byon dan / sGrol-ma-rgyan-med
 ces-bya-ba bshugs-so // Kha-sarpa-ñi ni rgyal-po'i-gtsug-lag-
 khañ-na bshugs-te / slob-dpon 'Phags-pa Zla-ba-grags-pa dan /
 slob-dpon Tsandra-go-mi gñis sgro-gleñ-mdzad-pa'i-dus-su
 Tsandra-go-mis [32b] lan 'phral-du ma-thebs kyañ phyis
 thebs-par-'dug skad / lan-cig slob-dpon Zla-ba-grags-pas
 chos-dris-pa-la Tsandra-go-mis lan-btugs-nas chab-bsil-ba ltar
 mdzad spyi-blugs⁵ kyañ khyer-nas byon-pas de'i-phyir slob-dpon
 Zla-ba-grags-pas gzigs-pa'i-ched-du byon-pa'i Ka-sarpa-ñi'i
 rdo-sku de phyag-gyas-pa mchod-sbyin-du-yod-pa de rnam-'
 'gyur-gyi-phyag-rgya mdzub-mo ke-re-mdzad-thal-'gyur-gyi se-
 gol-gtog-ciñ 'di skad zer-ba-yin gsuñs-nas Tsandra-go-mi-la
 chos-slob-kyin-'dug de de-ltar lus-pas da-lta'an phyag-'dzub
 ke-re-ba che-chuñ mi-tsam-pa cig 'dug / slob-dpon Zla-ba-
 grags-pas ñe-rin-ma-mdzad-par ña-la'an gsuñ-bar-shu gsuñ-bas
 khyed skyes-ba lña-brgyar pañdi-tar skyes-ñiñ 'Jam-pa'i-dbyaṅs-
 kyis byin-gyis-brlabs-pas ñas bsad-mi-'tshal gSañ-ha-'dus-pa
 sgom gsuñs-so // de-nas gSañ-ba-'dus-pa shag bdun bsgom-
 pas [33a] sPyan-ras-gzigs kyañ rub-phyogs-na dkar-kroñ-ñe
 'dug-pa gzigs-so // dkar-por-gzigs shes grags kyañ dmar-por
 bsad gsuñs-so // yañ Mañju-gho-śa-grī-ba-wāṅga⁴ 'Jam-
 dbyaṅs-mjin-yon⁵ shes-pa de slob-dpon Zla-ba-grags-pa Tsandra
 go-mi-la bsus-ba-mdzad-pa-na śiñ-rta-gcig-gi-steñ-du sku des
 bshugs-pa khrid śiñ-rta-gcig-gi-steñ-du Tsandra-go-mi bshugs-
 par-shus-pas ma-gnañ-ste / ña dge-sloñ-gi-dge-'dun-gyi-gtsug-

1. Read -ste.

2. Read tkur-sti.

3. Read : gyon.

4. Mañjughoṣha-grīva-bhaṅga.

lag-khañ-du śiñ-rta'i-stein sdod-pa-mi-ruñ gsuñ nan-tan cher
 shus-pas'o-na nas 'Jam-dbyaṅs-kyi-śiñ-rta'i-stein-du rta bshug-¹tu
 bsdad-la 'Jam-dbyaṅs-la bsil-yab gyo-ba-pa'i-tshul²du bya'o
 gsuñ-nas de-ltar mdzad / Nā-lendra'i nub dpag-tshad-gcig-
 gi-sa-nas lho-na mar spyan-draṅs-pa Tsandra-go-mis sku de
 'Jam-dbyaṅs dños-su-gzigs-pa mi-rnams-kyi-pha-gi-la ltos-dañ
 lyos-dañ byas-pas mi-snañ-ba ma-dag-ste bem-por 'du-
 śes-nas de-ka-ltar lus-pa-yin-no da-lta'añ 'jin-yon²-du-yod /
 [33b] śiñ-sku yin-là mi-tsam-pa yod de-lta-na'añ rten-dag-la
 Saṅs-rgyas dños-kyi 'du-śes skyed-de gsol-ba-btab-na dños-su
 chos-gsuṅs-pa-la-sogs-pa 'byun-ba-yin / / bem-po yin bcos-ma-
 yin gzugs-brñan yin sñam-na byin-rlabs kyañ chuñ gsuṅs / de'i
 rañ-bshin ni Jo-bo'i-gdams-pa-las kyañ rten mthoñ-na yañ
 'di-dag ni / byin-gyis-brlabs-las-byuñ-ba'i-phyir / / De-bshin-
 gśegs-pa-ñid yin-no / / sñam-du dad-ciñ gus-par-bya / shes
 gsuṅs-so / / Tā-ra-tha¹ sGrol-ma-rgyan-med ces-bya-bar grags-
 pa de-ni slob-cdpon Tsandra-go-mi byañ-chub-sems-dpa' yin-pas
 sloñ-tshad-ster-bas byin-zin-nas ci'añ med-pa'i-dus-cig-tu rGy-
 gar lho-phyogs-nas 'oṅs-pa'i glu-mkhan dañ zlos-gar-mkhan
 gyis zla-ba-phyed-du glu-gar-gyi-rol-mo-phul-nas nor-sloñ ze-
 ba-la na-bza'-ras-cig-yod-pa de byin-pas ma-'dod-te ci ster-na
 sñam-du-dgoṅs-pa-na gzim-khañ gtsug-lag-khañ de'i śar-gyi
 gyen-logs-lasGrol-ma'i-sku-bris-pa-cig [34a] yod-pa-la gsol-ba-
 btab-pas de'i shal-nas 'di-tsho byin gsuñ-nas phyag-gyas-pa'i-sor-
 gdub-pā / yon⁴-pas phud-nas gnañ / dpuñ-rgyan phyag-gñis-
 kas phud-nas gnañ-bas sil-khrol-khrol dños-su-byuñ-bas de-rnams
 rol-mo-mkhan-la byin de-la pañḍi-ta-rnams-kyis de-tsam gañ-nas
 byuñ zer-śiñ⁵ brtags-pas sGrol-ma'i phyag-sor dañ dbu-la śul
 kyañ skor-re-'dug-pas sGrol-ma-rgyan-med ces sGrol-ma dños-su
 grags/de-nas Nā-lendra'i-lha-khañ sgo-nub-tu-blta-ba-cig-na śar-
 gyi-rtSIGs⁶-pa'i-nañ-logs-na shaḥs-kyi thad-kar mgo-gtugs-śiñ byin-

1. Read : gshug.

2. Read : gyon.

3. Tārīṇikā (suggested by Pandit Rātula Sāṅkī tyāyana)

4. Read : gyon.

5. Read : shiñ.

6. Read : rtsig.



rlabs-shus-pas snum kred-kred-par soñ-nas nag-pa'i-dkyil zad-pas
 ther-ther-soñ-ba byin-rlabs-can de da-lta rib-tsam gsal-kar-
 bshugs-'dug / Ye-śes-mgon-po ni dus-cig-na Nā-lendra-nas
 śar-phyogs-tu nīn-lam-gcig-na O-tanta'i gteug-lag-khañ-na
 gar-log-gi-dpon-gcig-gis gshis-kha-byas-nas-yod-pa des [34b]
 bla-ma Ra.¹hu-la-śrī²-bha-dra'i-yon-bdag 'Dza-ya-de-wa bza'-
 mi gñis dbañ-med-du bos-nas soñ-ba shag 'ga' log-ma-byuñ
 -de-nas 'grul-cig byuñ-nas bla-ma dpon-slob-rnams-la yon-dbag
 bram-ze na-re / ned Gar-log-gis bla-ma'i-spyan-sñar mgo-zlum
 mañ-po bsodod³-pa-la bsñen-bskur mañ-du byas zer-nas bzuñ da
 bla-ma dpon-slob-rnams kyañ kroñs-ñes-par-'dug-pas broś-śig
 zer-ba'i phrin byuñ-bas / bla-ma-la 'o-skol-rnams gśegs-par-
 shus-pas khyed-rañ-rnams broś-śig ña dgu-bcu-lhag soñ-bas
 thar yañ mi-thar 'gros kyañ mi-'gros gsuñs yañ bram-ze'i phrin
 byuñ-nas bla-ma-la shus-pas sñā-ma skad gsuñ / phrin de
 mañ-po mañ-po byuñ-bas slob-ma gshan thams-cad broś /
 Chos-rje lo-tsā-ba gcig-pu bla-ma chags-nas bshud ma-phod
 bla-ma-la gśegs-par-shus-pas khyod Bod-kyi-mi gcig ña-la chags-
 nas sdod-pa glen / [35a] yul-mi slob-ma-rnams kyañ 'broś-pa-
 la khyod mi-'broś-pa gsod-yoñ gsuñ-nas bka'-kyon⁴-te mi-bshud-
 na ña gsod kyañ mi-'gro shus-pas mñes-nas khyod dam-tshig-can
 'or-che da 'o-na khyod kyis khur-na theg-gam / theg-na'u-cag
 gñis 'broś⁵-so gsuñs / bla-ma khur-nas ka-ba gcig-la bskor-ba-
 mdzad-pas bla-ma'i-shal-nas theg-par-'dug bu-ram rkyal-pa⁶
 chuñ-ba gañ dañ 'bras tshom-pa gcig dañ dpe gces-pa 'di-tsho
 yañ khyer-cig⁶ thag-rin-por mi-thar-te ña-la thabs yod-kyi gsuñ-
 nas lho-nub pha-tshad-na mgon-khañ yod-sa der byon-te / bla-
 ma'i-shal-nas Ye-śes-kyi-mgon-po 'di ni dur-khrod bSil-ba'i
 tshal-du rdo-la rañ-byuñ-du byon-pa-la slob-dpon 'Phags-pa
 Klu-grub-kyis rñed-nas 'dir spyan-drañs-nas bshugs-su-gsol-ba-
 yin / sñon Gar-log-gis 'di'i rdo thams-cad khyer sku-la snum

1. Rā.

2. drī.

3. Read : sdod-.

4. Read : okyon.

5. Read : broś-.

6. Read : shig.

'byug-pa dan phyag-'tshal-ba'i-dod-por mi-gtsaṅ-bas byugs
 thal-ba gtor-phoṅs bstan-pas mi de khoṅ-raṅ O-tanta-pu-rir
 [35b] sleb-'nas pho-ba glaṅ-thabs-kyis de nub-raṅ-la śi-nas saṅ
 naṅ-par rdo-ba 'di ma-ñan-pa cig 'dug zer-te them-pa 'di yar-la
 skyal²-ba-yin dus-de-nas Tu-ru-ka³ mu-stegs-kyis thon-kor
 ñe-mi-nus-pa-yin gsuṅs-so // der bshugs-pa'i-śul-du cig-car-du
 Tu-ru-ka'i-dmag gsum-brgya-tsam mtshōn-cha ziñ-ñe-ba byuñ-
 ste bkroṅ ñes-par 'dug kyaṅ ma-rñed-pas skyaṅs-nas log-soñ-ño /
 yon-bdaz bza'-mi giṅs po shag 'ga' lcags bcug-ste de-nas btañ-
 byuñ-ño / mgon-po'i-sku de shal-gcig phyag-bshi-pa che-chuñ-
 mi-bas-che-stam-pa mis snum-ñed-byas-pas sño-kred-kred-pa
 lte-ba'i-thad-kar mgo-btugs-nas byin-rlabs-ñhus-pas zad-pa-la
 rdo sran-zan mdog-tu snaṅ gsuṅs-sc // dan-po bla-ma Ra⁴-hu-
 la'i spyan-sñar sleb-pa'i-dus-na dbUs-'gyur-'chaṅ / 'di-na'aṅ
 sgra ña-bas mkhas-pa med-de 'oṅ sñam-pa-la bla-ma'i slob-ma
 byis-pa [36a] sgra-bslobs-pa 'ga' snaṅ-bas de-kun kyaṅ ña-bas
 mkhas-par-snaṅ / mkhas-pa raṅ de yul Ma-ga-dha der phyin-
 nas gtugs-na 'oṅ-bar-'dug gsuṅ / paṅ-chen bLa-ma-lñe-bcu-pa
 gsuṅ-ba-la bdag-gi-blo-la'aṅ yod śes kyaṅ śes da ñan-mi-dgos
 snam-pa-la bla-ma paṇḍi-ta chen-po'i-shal-nas saṅ-kṛi-ta'i-
 'grel-pa mkhas-su-'gro-ñon gsuṅs-pas ñan-pa sdon-la'aṅ phan-
 par-byuñ khyad-par yaṅ 'ga'-re 'dug ñan-rin-chog-par-byuñ
 gsuṅs der dus dbyar-du 'gro-tsa-na bla-ma'--shal-nas khyed
 Bal-por bshud-dgos / 'dir tshad-pas groṅ-'gro / 'dir Bod gshan
 byuñ-bas kyaṅ slob-gñer dan 'oṅ-ba-'dug-can na-ñiñ śi-ba-yin
 khyed-kyi-sñar yaṅ chos maṅ-po mkhyen-gda'-ba srog-gi-
 bar-chad-byuñ-na phaṅs cis-kyaṅ bshud gsuṅ grogs-po-dag kyaṅ
 de skad zer yaṅ thugs-la dbyar Bal-por phyin-nas dgun dbUs-
 'gyur-'chaṅ 'dir 'oṅs-na chu-bo Gaṅga⁵ rgal-ba'i-dka'-las cig-pos
 chog [36b] śi yaṅ 'dir slob-gñer-bya-dgos sñam-nas bla-ma-la
 ña śi yaṅ 'dir ñan-par-shu byas-nas bshugs-pas dbyar lan-gcig
 sku-la śu-ba gsum-brgya byuñ-nas 'o-brgyal-bar-byuñ-ba-la

1. Read : slebs.
2. Read : bskyal.
3. Turuṣhka.
4. Rā.
5. Gaṅgā

bla-ma'i-shal-nas khyod bsod-nams-can skal-pa-bzañ-po-can-du
 'dug gsuñs-nas dgyes-tshor-cher-mdzad / ña 'di-'dra'i-na-
 tshabs-la bla-mas dgyes-pa ci yin sñam-pa-la bla-ma'i-shal-nas
 khyod-kyi tchu-nad nañ-du ma-byuñ-bar phyir byuñ-ba-yin
 su-bas srog-gi-bar-chad mi-rus da khyed mi-groñ gsuñs-nas
 dgyes-^{co} // de-dus-na gdan-she-rañ-med-pas 'phral-du sdug-
 sran tshugs-te phyis khams ñan par-'dug gsuñs-so // pa-ni-hi¹
 shes-na mthil-lham ko-ri dan yu-ba-med-par śin-ñam ko-ba-la
 mthil bya-ba rkañ-pa'i goñ-dus sgreg-gi-'chiñ rGya-gar-ba'i-
 lugsyin / res-'ga'de-'dra'i lham-yañ-med-par byuñ gsuñs-so //
 yul-cig-na mu-stegs mañ-po-mchod-par-byed-par-'dug-pa-la śin
 mañ-pot shan-chen-po-rtsig-byas-pa'i-nañ-du phyugs mañ-po
 bcug-nas śin-la me-spar-nas phyugs-ma-rams bsregs-pas me-chuñ-
 na [37a] phyugs-ma-rnams phrad-phrad-byed-pa de'i mthar
 dkyil khor zlum-po dan gru-gsum gru-bshi-la-sogs-pa mañ-po
 byas-byas-nas lab-lab-pa-ra-pu-re mañ-po zer-bar-'dug / mchod-
 pasbyin-pa'i-rigs de-la thabs-su 'dod-de thar-ba'i-thabsma-yin /
 'tshe-ba-dag ni thams-cad dan // thabs ma-yin dan ñan-son
 dan // 'jigs²-tshogs theg-pa-dman-pa-la // skyob-phyir skyabs
 kyī dam-pa-yin // shes-pa'o // thabs-nui-mkhyen-pa-ni de-
 'dra'i chos-log-go / dkon-mchog-gsum-la skyabs-'gro-byas-na
 dra'i-chos-la re mi-dgos-pa'añ 'oñ gsuñs-so // rGya-gar dan
 Bal-po-na sño'i lo-ma sa'i-stein-du bkram-pa ltar skye-ba koñ-po-
 med-pa-cig-la ra-phyugs-kyis rmig-pa-la-sogs-kyis ma-ral-ba
 dgos ral-ba'am skyon-can gcig zla-la śor-na zla-bo skvon-med
 thams-cad kyañ rul-bar-'dug / grogs-po ñan-pa yañ go-la rul
 pa-dañ-'dra zla-bo thams-cad rul-du 'jug-par-'dug gsuñ / lo-ma
 de'i rul-pa gris [37b] bcad-ciñ bror-nas 'gron-bu bsregs-pa'i thal-
 babtab / de chan-phabs 'debs-pa'i dod-po yin-par bar-du dri-
 bzañ btab-nas shag gñis gos-kyis mnan-palañs-pa de-la pa-ña³
 zer Bod-skad-du btuñ de-la chos-skad-du tam-bo-la / ' phal⁴
 skad-dam Bal-po'i-skad-du go-la / Bod-skad-du so-rtsi shes-
 par-bsgyur-te / de'i kha-dog dmar-po gyur señ-ñe-ba des so

1. panhi.

2. Read : 'ji-.

3. Hindi, pān.

4. Read : phal-.

legs-par-'on-bas so-rtsi shes gsuñs-so // da-ri-ba¹ zer-ba-la
 Bal-po se'u'i-khu-ba skyur señ-ñe-ba de ban-de-rnams-kyi
 btuñ-ba yin rGya-gar-na ban-de chañ mi-'thuñ gsuñs-so //
 Nā-lendrar chos rdzogs-par-shus-nas bla-ma-la na Bod-du
 'gro-bar-shus-pas ma-gñañ-te² de-nas zla-ba gcig-tsam soñ-ba-na
 bla-ma'i-shal-nas khyod-kyis chos mañ-po mkhyen-pas sems-
 can-la phan-thogs 'on Bod-du bshud-dgos gsuñs'o-na 'gro-bar-shu
 byas-pas de-rin bshugs-cig³ gsuñs / sañ de bshud-pas do-nub
 gru-khar nam-yañ sleb sña-dro bshugs-ñig gsuñs [38a] der
 nub-mo bsdad de'i-nañ-par deda gshud-dgos gsuñs-nas de'i
 ñin-mo pañdi-ta mdo-li-la bteg-nasskyel-du-byon khyed dge-sloñ
 legs-po cig yod-pas Bod-du bshud gsuñs-nas spyān-chab-bsil /
 ña na-so rgas Bod-sa-thag-rin skye-ba 'dir da 'phrad-pa mi-'on
 bDe-ba-can-du 'jal-⁴on cig gsuñs-nas slar-bshud-do // bla-ma
 de-la bsñen-bkur 'thon⁵-po byas-pa-yin gsuñs Chos-rje Chag-lo-
 tsā-bas lo-ril-po gñis yul Ma-ga-dhar bshugs-so / Nā-lendra'i
 le'u-ste-bcu-pa'o //

Chapter XI

de-nas Chos-rje zla-bo-med kyañ byon-te chu-bo
 Gañ-gā'i gru-nañ-du Gar-log-mi-gnis khyed Bod-kyi-mi 'dug
 khyod-la gser 'dod zer Chos-rjes ñas rgyal-po-la bśad-do
 byas-nas kha śugs-chen-po byas gsuñs / khoñ-gñis-kyis Chos-rjes⁶
 lhuñ-bzed gru-nañ-nas tog-gis khyer-bas gru-nañ-nas rGya-gar-
 gyi-yon-bdag-pha-bu-gñis 'dug-pa'i-bu de dad-pa-can cig 'dug-
 pas de na-re dge-sloñ ño-mtshar-can gcig 'dug lhuñ-bzed ma-
 'khyer [38b] khyod-gñis-la nor gcig sbyin zer de-gñis na-re
 khyod-kyi nor mi-'dod Bod 'di-la 'dod zer / der khoñ-gñis-la
 pa-na⁷ gcig śor pa-na gcig zer-na de 'gron-bu brgyad-bcu-la
 zer-ba-yin gsuñs / de-nas Ti-ra-hu-ti'i gron-khyer-Pa-ta⁸ shes-pa
 der sleb-pa'i-dus-na dge-sloñ gcig-la nañ-pa yin-nam dris-pas
 yin zer de-la gnas gyar-nas bshugs-pas der sku-khams sñuñ-ste
 rkañ gar-yod sta-res bśag-pa ltar gyur gnas-po na-re sñuñ-ñam

1. Hind. dārim.

3. Read : śig.

5. Read : mthon.

7. paṇa.

2. Read : ste.

4. Read : mjal.

6. Read : rje'i.

8. Pattalā.

zer khams ma-bde gsuñs-pas yul dbUs-kyi tshad-pa phyi-la
 'brañs-pa-yin cis-kyañ mi-phan-par 'chi-ba-yin khyod 'dir
 ma-bśdad ro-khañ yod-pas der soñ zer ñin-re-bśhin de-skad zer /
 de'i-dus-su tshad-pa'i-sñuñ-nad drag-pos ni thabs gsol-ba'i-
 rgyags ni med / sñuñ-ba-la gyog ni med / gnaś-po des ni
 rtag-tu soñ zer / yul-phyogs-kyi-mi-ño-śes-pa ni cig-kyañ med /
 śeg-bya-ba yañ med / [39a] der groñ-la khad-pa śin-tu 'o-rgyal.¹
 bar-byuñ-ño // de'i-dus-su gnod-bya'i-man-ñag thun-moñ-ma-
 yin-ṣas-yod-pas 'phel-gyis dogs-nas bsregs / gnaś-po des kyañ
 dpe rkus de-dus spyān tab-rit-tu gyur-pa'i-dbu-rñas-su nag-po
 yor-po shig byuñ-ste śnags-pa cig na-re sku-khams sñuñ-ñam zer
 ma-bde gsuñs-pas khyod su yin zer Bod yin gsuñs-pas Bod-kyi
 gañ-nas 'oñs zer dbUs-pa yin-gsuñs-ṣas dbUs-kyi-gañ-gi-thad-nas
 y nshes nan-tan cher 'dri-śhiñ-'dug-pas ña gOal-gyi lTe'u'i-ra
 zer-ba shig-nas rGya-gar rDo-rje-gdan-du chos slob-pa-la phyin
 Bod-du 'log-'gro-ba-yin-te 'dir na-bas lus-pa-yin gsuñs-pas
 śnags-pa de na-re Chag lo-tśā-ba dGra-bcom-gyi dpon-po cig
 na-ñiñ-tsam-na rGya-gar-du bśhud zer-ba de cañ yin-nam zer de
 yin gsuñs-pas / de na-re ñas Bod-du pañḍi-ta Śākya Śrī'i chags-
 phyir lTe'u-rar shyin-pa-yin Phyag² lo-tśā-ba goñ-ma des
 [39b] thugs-la 'dogs-po-byas ña-la nor yod-na khyod-kyi shabs-
 thogs-byed de ci-yañ med ña rGya-gar lho-phyogs don-gñer-du
 oñs-pa-yin / ñas rDo-rje-rnam-'joms dañ gTsug-tor klog-śes
 khyed-kyi gyog dgos-na bya'am zer-bas dga'-nas 'o-na de-ltar shu
 byas-pas śnags-pa des sñuñ-gyog-byas-pas zla-ba-gñis-tsam
 sñuñ-na'añ ma-groñ-tsam-byuñ gsuñs-so // de-skad-du'añ rGya-
 gar Bal-por bzab kyañ yul-dug-kyi // tshad-nas drag-pos
 thebs kyañ dbañ-po-yi // gtso-bo srog-gi-bar-chad ma-byas-pa //
 de 'añ mkhan-po Chos-rje chen-po'i drin // shes dañ / bśruñ-
 ba ñams-su blañs kyañ sñon-las-kyi // rims-nad chen-pos zin
 yañ bśes-gñer-gyis // skyarś-pas tshe-yi-'du-byed ma-'gag-ṣas //
 de-yañ mkhan-po Chos-rje'i drin // shes gsuñs -so // śnags-
 pa de-ñi mgon-po phyag-bśhi-ṣa 'di yin-par-snañ gsuñs / de-nas
 sñuñ-ba dañs sku śña-so bśhin ma-sroñs pa'i-dus-su groñ-khyer
 Pa-ra'i-rgyal-ṣo de srañ-mdor 'byon-pa-yod zer-naś / rña bro-

1. Read : brgyal.

2. Read: Chag.

ba dan gar-mkhan dan [40a] / rgyal-mtshan dan phyema-
 phur-ma dan / bsil-yab gyob-pa dan / dun dan bud-dkrol-la-
 sogs-pa byed / khañ-pa'i-stein thams-cad-dan / srañ-gi-mdo
 thams-cad dar-gyi-su-sur kheñ-par-byas / rgyal-pa Rā-ma-
 siñga¹ shes-bya-ba de glañ-po-che--cig-gi-stein-na rin-po-che'i-
 khri dan rgyab-yol-rgyan-sna-tshogs-brgyan-pa-la 'khod-nas
 byon / Chos-rje yañ blon-pos spyan-drañs-du-byuñ-ste / ñid
 ma-byon-na rgyal-pos chad-pas gcod-du 'oñs-pas 'byon-par-shu /
 rgyal-po srañ-mdor lo-re-la lan-re-las mi-'byon de-la ltad-mo
 byed-pa-yin zer / blon-pos Chos-rje mdo-li-la spyan-drañs-nas
 rgyal-po dan mjal / Chos-rje rgyal-po de-la sam-k'i-ta'i
 tshigs-bcad-pas śis-pa-brjod-pas rgyal-po śin-tu mñes-nas gser
 dan / ras-yug dan / sman mañ-po dan / 'bras dan / yon
 btañ-po gya-nom-pa phul-nas bla-mchod-la bshugs-par-shu
 gsuñs-pa-la / Chos-rjes kyed mu-stegs-kyi chos-lugs-la ña-[40b]
 nañ-pa'i-chos-kyis bla-mchod-byed-pa-mi-'thad-do gsuñs-pa
 thugs-la btags gsuñs-pas / 'o-na shag 'ga' 'dir bshugs zer-
 nas rgyal-po des ci-dgos-pa'i-bsñen-bkur-byas gsuñs / tshur-
 lam Ti-ra-hu-tir byon-pa'i-le'u-ste-bcu-gcig-pa'o / /

Chapter XII

de-nas Ti-ra-hu-tir groñ-khyer Pa-ta'i-khrom-chen-po
 tshogs-par Bal-po'i-mi-ño-ses-pa-byuñ-ba-rnams na-re 'di-ltar
 sku-rid-pa groñ-gros ku-bsegs 'gro zer-nas ñus chos-rjes ña gson-
 gśin phyed-pa-yin de'u rañ śi-ste sos-pa-yin gsuñs-nas khoñ
 'ba'-ro-rnams-kyis bsñen-bkur-byas-śiñ mdo-li-la spyan-drañs-
 nas Bal-yul-du byon / Bal-yul-nas phyug-po-la 'ba'-ro-zer /
 ban-dhe-la ha-sa-si zer / śnags-pa-la hañdu-zer gsuñs Bal-yul-
 du byon-tsa-na sku ma-ltas-pa-la 'ba'-ro-rnams-kyis zas shim-po
 mañ-po byin-pas bad-kan che-bar byuñ gsuñs / [41a] Bal-
 yul-du Ban-dhe-Sa-le zer-ba'i 'ba'-ro gcig-la gser-srañ lña-dom
 blañs-nas dpe-rtēn bsheñs mañ-du gsuñs / der Mañ-yul
 Guñ-thañ-du lo-tsā-ba Ñag-tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba'i-gdan-sa
 Yañ-dog ces-bya-ba der bshugs-par-shu-ba'i-shu-'bul byuñ-ba-la
 Chos-rje'i-shal-nas / gNal-gyi-lTe'u-ta shes-par mkhan-po lo-

1. Rāmasiñha.

tsā-ba goñ-ma de'i gdan-sa skyon-dgos-pa-yod-pas bsdod-'mi-
 khoms / lo gcig-gñis -kyis khyod-la'an mi-tsho gsuñs-pas
 lo-gcig-las ma-khom kyañ bshugs - par-shu zer / bla-ma Ri-
 wan-dra² mñon-śes-mña'-bas Yañ-dog-tu'an lo bshi-lña bshugs-
 nas byon-na'thad-de-tsam riñs-pa kha-na-med-de rjes-la byon-pas
 'gro-don 'oñ gsuñs-so // gsuñ des Yañ-dog-tu bshugs-pa-yin /
 de-nas Bal-po-nas Yañ-dog-tu phebs der Ha-ri-man-da-la-sogs-pa
 ma-dañ'-dra-ba'i-bu bshi-la-sogs-te gna s-gshi brgyad-cu-tham-
 pa'i lde-mig ñin-gcig-la phyag-tu phul / [41b] yon-bdag-po
 phyug bTsan-grags-kyis gser-'bum phul / yon-bdag dKon-
 mchog-rten-gyis gser-gyi-ñi-khri phul / spyir gser-gyi-ñi-khri
 tshar bshi / brGyad-stoñ-pa tshar gñis snag-tsha'i-gsuñ-
 rab-la mdo-sde sum-cu-rtsa-gñis dus-gcig dañ rgyas-pa bcu-drug
 dum-gcig-gis sna-drañs-pa 'po-ti phyed-dañ-ñis-brgya-tsam
 phyag-tu byon / chos-skad-du pustaka / 'phral'-skad-du glegs-
 bam gser-gyi-ma-yin-pa snag-tshas-bris-kyañ glegs-bam yin
 gsuñs-so // lar¹ dpe-cha ma-ltogs⁴-pa'i-po-ti ñis-brgya phyag-tu
 byon / Yañ-dog-nas dbUs-su byon-dus(yon-bdag-)po Phyug
 bTsan-grags na-re gser-'bum Yañ-dog-tu 'jog-na mi-dga'-bas
 Chos-rje-ñid gar bshud-du spyān-drañs-par-shu zer kho-rañ
 rañ-gis ko-gtum-byas-nas śnar-goñ-du lām-du brdzañs-so //
 dKon-mchog-rten-gyi Ñi-khri ñi-ma-bshi'i-sar skyel-du byuñ-
 bas de-gñis lTe'u-rar gdan-drañs-so / / yon-bdag de-
 [42a] gñis bu med-nas tshad-pa-la / de-nas bu gsum skyes mi-
 nor-'dzoms-bde-skyid-dañ-lldan-par gyur-to // Bal-yul-na bshugs-
 pa'i-dus-su Chos-rje Sa-skyā-paṇḍi-tas mTshan-brjod-kyi-'
 'grel-pa bDud-rtsi-thigs-pa'i-dpe bskur gsuñ-ba byuñ-ba-la de'i
 rGya-dpe bskur-bas khyed-rañ-gis 'gyur-mdzad-pa'i Bod-dpe'i
 gyur blta-ba-yin gsuñ-nas yañ bskur-ba gzigs-pas śin-tu mñes-te
 phyis Sa-skyar mjal-dus gsuñ-gleñ-mdzad-pas Chos-rje Sa-skyā-
 pa'i-shal-nas lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-bzañ-po'i-rtiñ-la khyod-bas
 mkhas-pa ma-byuñ ñes-pa-yin / ña yañ khyed-kyi 'di-ltar
 mkhas-pa cig bya śñam-pa-la yab-mes-kun-gyis rGya-gar-du
 ma-btañ-bas lan sku-drin-che-la chuñ-du-byuñ che-ste chos

1. Read : sdod.

2. Ravindra.

3. Read : phal.

4. gtogs

5. Read : gtogs/

dañ loñs-spyod-dañ-ma-bral-ba-mdzad / chuñ-ste rGya-gar-du
 ma-btañ gsuñs-so // phyis Hor-yul-du'añ Chag lo-tsā-ba rañ
 mkhas-pa yin-pas yon-tan slob-'dod-na khoñ-la gtugs-sig gsuñs-
 skad-do // [42b] Yañ-dog-tu chos-gsuñs-pas bla-ma Sa-skya-pa'
 islob-ma dge-bśes bcu-tsam-la'añ chos-kyi-phan-thogs che--bar
 byuñ gsuñs-so // Mañ-yul Yañ-dog-tu lo-tsā-ba bshugs-pa'i-
 le'u-ste-bcu-gñis-pa' //

Chapter XIII

de-nas gñal lTe'u-ra-pa-rnams-kyis spyan-drañs-pas Yañ-dog-
 nas byon-pa'i-tsho gser-'bum Ñi-khri-sogs dañ / phyag-dpe Bod-
 dpe rGya-dpe'i sna-ka-rtser-bshugs-pa-rnams mdzo mañ-po-la
 bkāl-nas byon-pas mi-la-la na-re dpe dañ chos de-tsam-gyi-mañ
 po mi-srid tshos dañ bu-ram mañ-po yod-'dug zer-skad /
 de'i-dus-su rañ-thag-cig ma-tog-pa ci-dgos-pa 'bul-ba-byuñ /
 mi-che-rgu-cog-gis shabs-kyi-rdul spyi-bos blañs-te gñal-gyi-
 lTe'u-rar phebs-sa-gshi, rta dañ mis gañ-shiñ / nam-mkha' 'ja'
 dañ dar-gyis gañ-ba / shabs-kyis gañ dañ gañ bcags-pa /
 bkra-sis lo legs bde-skyid-ldan / lTe'u-ra'i slob-dpon Don-
 shags-pa Chos-rje sñen gshon-nu'-i-dus-su lha'i-shal [43a] gzigs
 gsuñs-pa-la yid-ma-ches-pa bar-chad yin rGya-gar-nas log-mi-'oñ
 gsuñ-ba-la loñi-sū-rtsa-bshi ma-'jal¹ kyañ da-bzod² bar-chad-
 med-par byon-pa-la dad-gus gshan-pas che skad / mkhas-
 grub-btsun-pa'i sñan-grags phyogs-bcur khyab / Hor-yul- nas
 kyañ chos-kyi-rgyal-po 'Phags-pa dañ / rgyal-po Lo-go-sa-
 bdag-Go-pe-la gus-pa'i-thugs-kyis spyan-'dren-btañ-bar-gyur//
 de-la slob-dpon Sig-sa-ta-dañ-la-sogs-pa'i gser-yig-pa'ga'
 yañ-dañ-yañ-du byuñ-shiñ gus-pas bsñen-bkur-byas-ste³ /
 Hor-yul-du spyan-'dren-pa'i-gtam-shus-so // 'gro-ba mañ-po
 phan-bde-la bkod-ciñ lTe'u-rar bshugs / rGya-gar-nas phebs-
 nas lo phyed-dañ-bco-lña-tsam soñ-ba'i-dus-su 'brug-gi-lo-la
 Si-tu A-skyid dañ / dpon-po 'jur-nañ dañ Ab-rkan la-sogs-kyis
 Hor-yul-du spyan-drañs-pa-la mdo-li-la spyan-drañs-nas Byañ
 sñiñ-'brum-du byon / de'i-tshe shabs sñuñ⁴ / de'añ yos-bu'i-
 lo-la sa-gyos chen-po [43b] khañ-pa shig-pa mañ-pas bla-brañ

1. Read : mjal.
 3. Read : te.

2. Read : gzod.
 4. Read : bsñuñs.

du bshugs-ma-nus-phyir bshugs-pas kyañ lan chos-skyoñ-gis
shabs-la lcags-sgrogs bcug-nas Hor-yul-du mi-gtoñ-ba-'dug ces
kyañ rno-mthoñ-mkhan-gyis zer / Hor-Bod-kyi-mi blo-can-kun-
gyis lam-du groñ-na pharīs-par mthoñ / dpon Zin Śes-rab-
skyabs-kyis Hor-Bod-kyi-mi-sna-kun bsags-te lam-du groñ-pa-na
gryal-po yañ mi-mñes / Bod-du bshugs-na 'gro-ba-kun-la
phan-khams che-bas Hor-Bod-kun gros-kyis zer-ba-la-brten-nas
Hor-Bod-kun-gyis Bod-du bshugs-par-shus / de'i-dus-su dpon
Śes-rab-skyabs-kyis shus-pa bla-ma pañḍi-ta chen-po bcu-gñis /
Bod-du lo-tsā-ba bshi mkhas-btsun ñi-śu-la chos gsan-pa'i
gsan-yig chen-mo de mdzad-de gnañ / slar-yañ gñal-du byon /
rGya-gar-nas gñal-du byon-nas lo gñis-tsam-na 'Phrul-snañ-gi
Śākya-mu-ne-la mchod-pa-'bul-du byon-pa'i-lam-du Yar-luñ
sTag-tshal-[44a] du pañḍi-ta Dā-na-śi-la-la sgrub-thabs-bsdus-
pa'i rGya-dpe yod-med 'dri-ba-la byon-te chu-ba-ber gcig dañ /
lga-pi-pi-liñ phul-nas rGyud-bla-ma'-i-mchod-brjod sañ-kri-tai'i-
skad-du gsuñ-te¹ śis-pa brjod-pas pañḍi-ta 'dar-sig-sig spyān-chab
li-li-li byuñ / mkhas-mkhas ña-bas khyod mkhas-pa 'dug /
khyod rGya-gar-du yun-rin-du sbyaṅs-pas pañḍi-ta chen-po'i-
chen-por 'dug / ña Bod-du bsdad-bas ba-lañ²-du soñ / khyod
mkhas-brags-pas ña'i spu lañ³-pa-yin gsuñs-so // gser-phyē
phyl-ba'i-drūñ-du chos-gsuñs-te rGya-gar-gyi-lo-rgyus gsuñs-pas
mi-tshogs-pa thams-cad 'chi⁴-ma śor-ba śa-stag byuñ / de'i lo-la
gser-phyē-phul-ba'i-yul-khams-der nad-med-pa lo legs-pa byuñ-
ñō / / lTe'u-ra'i-gdan-sa skyāñs-⁵pa'i-le'u-ste-bcu-gsum-pa'o / /

Chapter XIV

dguñ-lo drug-cu-re-gcig-pa rta'i-lo-la Thañ-po-cher-byon /
[44b] dpyid-dbyar-ston-gsum-gyi-chos dgon-pa-chen-mor
bshugs-nas gsuñs / dpyid-chos-la Tiñ-ñe-'dzin-rgyal-po'i-'grel-
pa dañ sems-bskyed chen-mo-la-sogs-pa gsuñs / dbyar-chos-la
sKye-rabs dañ / sPyod-'jug¹ dañ / bŚes-pa'i-sprin-yig dañ /
Ka-ma-la-śi-la'i-sGom-rims-gsum dañ / rTa-dbyaṅs-kyi-Kun-
rdzob-byañ-chub-kyi-sems-sgom-pa dañ / Don-dam-byañ-chub-

1. Read : ste

2. Read : glañ.

3. Read : lañs.

4. Read : mchi-.

5. Read : bskyāñs.

kyi-sems-sgom-pa-rnams gsuñs / ston-chos-la 'Phags-skor-gyi-
chos-phran-sna-gcig kyañ ma-lus,par gsuñs / gshan-yañ bla-
ma-ñid-kyis-mdzad-pa'i-maṇḍal-gyi-cho-ga-gsum dañ / Chos-
spyod-nor-bu'i-phreñ-ba dañ / bsNo-ba'i-man-ñag-rin-po-che'i-
gter dañ / Nan-son-sbyon-ba'i--rgyud-cha-lag-dañ-bcas-pa /
kLu-sgrub-kyi-smon-lam-shigs-su-bcad-pa-dgu-pa'gyur-bcos-nas-
gsuñs pa / shan-yañ chos-bka'mañ-du gsuñs-nas ston-chos
bzabs-'pa-yin des thon-pa-yin-no / da gro-la bshud gro-thon-pa-
dañ grwa-pa-kun [45a] ña'i-druñ-du byon-cig gsuñ-pas
spyān-sñar phyin-pa-na chos 'di śes-pa rañ-gis mī-chog ñams-su-
len-dgos-par-gda'i-bas ñams-len dañ thos-pa-gñis-a gyis-śig /
sñon-la chos bslabs-nas da gdoñ ñams-su-blañs sñam-na rtsis-su
mi-'oñ slob-parrañ-la'añ bar-chad 'oñ-ba-yin-pas ñams-len-
spyod-pa-dañ-'phral rañ-la gyis / 'o-skol 'chi--khar mī-'gyod-
pa-re-byed 'tshal de-la chos-śes-par-byas-nas ñams-su-len-dgos /
kho-bo yañ da-lo gñis bśad-pa-byed-nas sgrub-pa-rañ byed-rtsis
su-byuñ na-yin / ɕ-yoñ mī-śes / Chos-rje goñ-ma de dguñ-lo
drug-cu-rtsa-bshi-la sku-gśegs-pa-yin / khyed yi-dam-gyi mñon-
rtogs gañ-la mos-pa re-re blo-la bzuñ-la bsgom / bLa-
ma-lña-bcu-pa hzuñ / gshon-nu-dus-su yi-dam-lha'i-bśñon-pa
thebs-dgos-pa-yin kho-bo kyañ gshon-dus-su yi-dam-lha'i-bśñen-
pa-'bum-tshe-ñi-su-rtsa-drug bskyal-bas rGya-gar-nas ma-śi-bar
log-tsam-byuñ-ba 'di yin rjud-rjud-par-'dug-ste gsuñ-nas
phyag-gi-bar lhu-la byil-byil-mdzad-de // yañ lan-geing kho-bos
Lho-Bal-du 'gro-tsam-na rDo-rje-gdan ma-mthon-bar-du
mi-ldog-pa'i-dam-bca'-byas lo bcu-bdun lon-nas bshi-bcu-
rtsa-lña'-i-bar-du snag-sñug-dañ-mi-'bral-ba'i-dam-bea'-byas /
da-lta dge-sbyor-gyi-dam-bca' dañ // dkor-la mī-'bag-pa
dañ/gshis-kha mī-gcod-pa dañ / gser se-ba-gcig-nas bre-gañ
kyañ bed-'gyur-du-mi-btoñ²-ba dañ / 'khor-la khral mī-bsdud
pa dañ / mī-dbe'i-dpon-mgo mī-byed-pa'i-dam-bca' 'ga' yod
gsuñs-so // ston-chos thon-ma-thag dgon-pa-chen-mo-nas
'Ju'i-phur byon rGyal-du zla-ba gsum mtsñams-la-bshugs-te//
gsuñ-bead thugs-dam-mdzad / thun-mtsñams-su sGron-gsal-
le'u-dañ-po'i ti-ka mdzad / Bod-lta-ba ma-dag-par yod sñon

1. Read: gzabs.

2. Read: gtoñ.

ha-saṅ Ma-hā-yā-na'i lta-ba dar da-lta'aṅ de-daṅ-dra / lta-ba
 dag-par-byed-pa-la dbU-ma [46a] Rin-chen-phreṅ-ba bśad-na
 phan/ Tnaṅ-du dgun 'di tshogs-chos-la bśad-dgos gsuṅs-nas
 bla-ma-ñid-kyi rGya-dpe 'bru re-re-nas yod-ciṅ/ sTon-pa 'Ju-bas
 Bod-yig-tu bris-te phyag-dpe'i ehan-bur btab / dgun Tnaṅ-po-
 cher byon Śud-ke'i-khaṅ-pa-nas dgun-chos-la sGron-gsal daṅ
 Rin-chen-phreṅ-ba gsuṅs phyag-dpe de dge--b'ses Rigs-ral¹
 gyiss hus-pas khomd-la gnaṅ-nas yod-ds / pyid-ehos sde-pnug-tu
 gsuṅs / dbyar-ehos 'Khor-rdo-dgon-par gsuṅs-ñiṅ bla-bran btab /
 dbyar-thog gñis-kyis bla-bran-gi-mkhar-las kyaṅ tshar / de-duxs-
 su tsha-duṅ ja-duṅ tshogs-chos-lña-chos-duṅ / phyi-dro'i-
 chos-duṅ-rnams daṅ dgon-ja'i-duṅ / dgon-ma chos-spyod-daṅ-
 daṅ-bcas-pa-yi / ñin-re duṅ laṅ bcu-gsum bcu-gsum bgrags //
 grwa-pa'aṅ dpe-'grems brgya-brgyas maṅdal phul // maṅdal
 sa-yi stegs-bu'aṅ brgya-brgya byuṅ // de-nas Phag-mo-grub-
 pa'i-dpon gShon-tshul-gyis Thaṅ-po-cher mi-bshugs-par-shu-ba'i-
 yi-ge byuṅ-bas dbyar-chos ston-chos-daṅ-bcas-pa Guṅ-thaṅ-
 [46b] du gsuṅs / 'Dren-phu-lhas-ldiṅs-su so-sor thugs-dam-
 mdzad / der sñar Bod-du ma-'gyur-ba'i-gTsug-lag-dgu'i-rgyud
 bsgyur / Byiṅ-gi-O-dkar-brag-tu'aṅ thugs-dam-mdzad / lar
 Yar-luṅ-phyogs-su lo ril-po lña bshugs-so // Chos-rje Chag
 lo-tsa-ba Thaṅ-po-cher byon-pa'i-le'u-ste-bcu-b'hi-pa'o //

Chapter XV

'Ju-ba-ston-pa bdag-gis 'Ju-phur gdan-draṅs-te-shus-pa-la
 'Phags-pa kLu-sgrub-kyis mdzad-pa'i gSaṅ-ba-'dus-pa'i dhaṅ-
 mdzad / rDo-rje-dbyiṅs-kyi-dkyil-'khor-chen-po bsheṅs ston-pa
 daṅ ston-pa'i-ne-'brel-gyis shus-pa-la chos shag bcu gnaṅ /
 Sems-bskyed-chen-mo-daṅ Sems-bskyed-bsdus-pa daṅ tshogs-chos
 maṅ-du gsuṅs / chos-gsuṅs-pa'i thog-mar 'Jam-dbyaṅs-kyi-bstod
 pa daṅ / bDud-tshar-bcod-pa'i-gzuṅs daṅ bLa-ma'i-bstod-pa re
 rGya-skad-du gsuṅs // chos-bśad-tsa-na thog-mar bLa-ma'i-
 bstod-pa re rGya-skad-du gsuṅs // chos-bśad-tsa-na thog-mar
 bLa-ma'i-bstod-pa re byas-pas gsuṅ-sgros mi-brjed-pa-yin gsuṅs-
 nas Gu-ru tsa-ra-ṇa² shes-pa-sogs bstod-pa re mdzad-do / bla-

1. Rig-ral.

2. śarapa.

ma Chos-rje [47a] Chag lo-tsā-ba 'Ju'-phur byon-pa'i-leu-
ste-bcō-lña pa'o //

Chapter XVI

de-nas Ri-gud-dud byar-chos dgun-chos rgyas-par-gsuñ / de-
dus-su'añ gra-pa-dpe-'grems brgya-brgya byuñ / de-nas
Sa-skyar byon chos-'khor-chen-mo-la dge-'dun ji-sñed tshogs-pa'i
dbu-mdzad / bla-ma-chen-po Śar-pas dbu-drañs-pa'i che-che-la
dbañ-bskur / la-la-la sdom-pa phog / la-la skyabs-'gro-la
bkod / khyim-pa-rnams bsñen-gnas-la bko' dgro-ba grañs-
med-pa sems-bskyed-la bkod-de / dpon-chen Śākya-bzañ-po
dañ bla-ma Śar-pas bsñen-bkur gya-noms-pa mdzad-ciñ
Sa-skyar bshugs-par shus-pa-la khams-bzañ-na da-bzod¹oñ-
bar-shu / da res gñal-du ci-nas-kyañ 'gro gsuñs-nassu'iño-la'añ
ma-bshugs-par gdan-sa lTe'u-rar byon-nas kyañ chos-'khor
mdzad-nas ñe-gnas dKon-mchog-dpal-gyis-gsags²-pa'i-bdog-pa
thams-cad spoñ-dag-mdzad-de sTon-pa [47b] Chos-rgyal-
gyis-btañ-ba-la rin-po-che'i-sder-ma rañ yañ sum-brgya
btañ de-ltar brtson-pa-mdzad-pa ni sku-mya-nan-las-'da'-
bar bshad-pa-ste / de-yañ Sañs-rgyas sprul-pa'i-sku rtañ³-du
mi-bshugs-pa'i-rgyu mtshan drug yod-pas-so // drug gañ
she-na / Theg-bsdus-las / mdzad-pa rdzogs-par-gyur-ba'i-ri //
shi-ba mi-'dod bzlogs-pa'i-ri // Sañs-rgyas brñas-pa bzlog-
pa'i-ri // spro-ba bskyed-par-bya-ba'i-ri // so-so rañ-brtson
brtsam-bya'i-ri // myur-du yon-su-smin-pa'i-ri // Sañs-
rgyas-rnams nisprul-pa'i-sku // gtan-du bshugs-par mi-bshed-
do // ces-so // rgyu des-na gdul-bya'i-don-la dguñ-la drug-
cu-rtsa-bdun bshugs-nas śin-pho-byi-ba-lo'i dgun-zlar-ra-ba-
mdo-'i-zla-ba-la res-gza'-lhag-pa skar-ma nam-gru'i-dus /
byed-pa khyim-skyes / sbyor-ba śin-tu mchog-can tshes bcu'i
ñi-mo ñi-ma lhan-dros -pa-la [48a] ni shi-bar-gśegs / 'jig-rten
sgron-me ñi-ma 'dra-ba nub / sgra dañ sa-gyos rgyal-
khams-kun-gyis tshor / dri-bzañ sña-na med-pa lTe'u-rar

1. Read : gzed.
2. Read : bsags
3. Read : rtag.

byun // la-las lha-yi sil-sñan thos-pa'an byuñ // de-tshe
 bla-ma Chos-kyi-rgyal-po 'Phags-pa rGya-yul-nas yar-byon-pa
 Byaṅ-'Dam-du phebs-pa der bla-ma Chos-rje Chag lo-tsā-ba
 'di-ltar mya-ñan-las-'dasshes shu-ba'i yi-ge-la gzigs-pas Chos-kyi-
 rgyal-po rdo-rje-lta-bu'i-tiñ-ñe-'dzin mña-'ba yañ spyān-chab
 bsil / der chos-kyi-rgyal-po'i-shal-nas na-niñ sñar Chos-rje
 Chag lo-tsā-ba Hor-yul-du byon-pa'am yañ-na ña yar-'oñs-nas
 'jal¹-bar-shu-ba'i-yi-ge btañ-ba'i lan-la skye-ba 'di-la'jal²-mi-
 'oñ dogs-yod skye-ba phyi-ma shiñ-khañs dag-par yañ-yañ
 mjal-ba'i smon-lan 'tshal gsuñ-ba'i yi-ge byuñ-ba-yin da de'i-
 thog-tu babs-khoñs-la mñon-śes-mña'-bar brda gsuñ-ño //
 sku-gśegs-pa de-phyir ma-tshor-bar-yod-pa-la [48b] Bya-mkhar-
 ba'i gnas-brtan bsgres-po na-re a-tsa-ra³ gñis-kyis bśad-pa-yin
 Chos-rje da-lta-bar ñi-ma lhan-dros-pa-la sku-gśegs
 zer-te byuñ de bśad-pa'i a-tsa-ra gñis-po de ni chos-skyoñ yin-par
 grags-so // sku-gśegs-pa'i Ñin bla-brañ-gi-thog-khar 'ja'-tshon
 sna-lña bkra-ba mi-kun-gyis mthoñ-bas Lho-pa rje-btsun
 Nam-mkkha'-dpal na-re sku-khams dga'-rab-yod zer kyañ
 'ja' mañ-po ya-mtshan ma-legs zer skad / spur-mchod-byed-
 pa'i ñin-par ñi-ma gshan-pas riñ de'i sKyē'u-ri'i goñ-tsam-na
 ñin-re-bshin-du 'Jam-dpal-mtshan-brjod 'don-pa'i dam-bca'-
 can shig yod-pa des tshor-nas mTshan-brjod tshar sum-cus mañ-
 du thon-byuñ ñi-ma de-tsam-gyis riñ zer skad-so // de-ltar
 Chos-rje mya-ñan-las-'das / mthoñ-ba-tsam-gyis dad-gyur-ba'i //
 rJe de mthoñ-ba- [49a] med-par gyur // chu-stoñ-chags-pa'i
 chu-zla-bshin // gduñ-sel gsal-ba stor-bar-gyur // chos don
 the-tshom phyogs-kun-la // dri-ba'i lan-lton-med-par-gyur /
 rGyal-gyi-zla-ba'i tshes bco-lña'i ñin spur-la shu-phul-ba'i-
 dus-su nam-mkha'i dañs-pa 'ja'-tshon-gyis gañ-ba dkar-yol
 lta-bu'i me-tog dkar-po'i char babs-pa mi la-la'i lag-gñis-kyis
 bzun-nas sñim-pa kha-phyē-tsam-na dños-med-du yal de sa-la
 śor-ba-yin sñam-nas sa-la blta-shiñ tshol / la-la gnam-du blta-
 shiñ da-duñ 'dzin / shag gsum-gyi bar-du 'khyeg-hrom thams-

1. Read : mjal.

2. Read : mjal.

3. āchārya.

cad shu / gduñ-la rigs-lña'i phyag-mtshan-la-sogs-pa ño-mtshar
 che-ba byon / phyis gduñ shal-mjal-ba'i-dus-su bla-brañ-gi-
 steñ-du dar-po-che gyen-du phyar-ba lta-bu'i 'ja'-tshon rab-tu-
 gsal-bar-byuñ / sañ sku-gsēgs-pa'i de-rin dgon-mō gzim-mal-du
 spyān-khar khro-bo bcu byuñ shes gsuñ-ba-la ñe-gnas slob-dpon
 sTon-rin- [49b] gyis ci lags shes-pās khro-bo bcu'i bris-ksu
 gñig bri sñam'yod-pas de'i bags khyer-'dug gsuñs / deni-khro-bo
 bcu shal-gzigs-pa'o // bla-ma Chos-rje Chag lo-tsā-ba
 sku-mya-ñan-las-'das-pa'i-le'u-ste-bcu-drug-pa'⁷ //

Chapter XVII

bdag-'dra'i rmonś-pas bla-ma Sañs-rgyas-kyi // gsuron-tan
 bris-brjod-nus-min-te // 'on-kyan gsuñ-la-brten-nas bris-pa'i-
 tshul // 'di-la noñs-pa mkhyen-ldan bzod-mdzad rigs // dge-bas
 'gro-kun bla-ma mchog rñed-ciñ // stoñ-ñid rtēñ-'brel lta-ba
 lta-ba rgyal-ba-yi // gsuñ-gi-mdzod-kyi gces-pa zab-mo'i-don /
 thos-śiñ rtogs-nas kun-mkhyen thob-par-śog // bla-ma'i gsuñ
 dri-ma-med-pa bsgrigs-pa shes-bya-ba 'di ni bla-ma Chos-rje
 lo-tsā-ba'i gsuñ-bdud-rtsi'i-rgyun-la snod-kyi skyon-gsum spañ
 ba gsuñ-zin tshad-bris-la 'dri-ba'i dam-bca'-can Śākya-dge-
 bsñen Chos-dpal-dar-dpyañ-gis Lho-pa'i [50a] dge-bśes Śes-rab-
 dbañ-phyug-la-sogs-pas bskul-ba'i-nor bla-ma lo-tsū-ba chen-po
 de-ñid-kyis shabs-bcags-pa'i-sa 'Ju'i-phur sdebs-pa rdzogs-so //
 gsuñ-sñan nor-bu'i-'phreñ-ba 'di // ñid-kyi mgul-la rgyan-du
 'bul // sarbakalyañamitra¹ / Tripiṭaka-dhara-yi-phyag-tu
 'bul // gus-bshin gshan-la'an gsuñ-bar-shiu // mañgalañ //

CHAPTER I BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

The Wonderful Life Story of Chag le-tsā-ba composed by 'Ju-ba' Chos-dar.

In Sanskrit : Guruvāgvimālāvalī-nāma.

In Tibetan : bLa-ma'i gsuñs dri-ma-med-pa bsgrigs-pa shes-
bya-ba.

“The String of the pure Words of the Guru.”

I bow in veneration to the pure lotus feet of the Dharmasvāmin
Chag lo-tsā-ba !

dPal - endowed with the name of Śrī,

dPal possessed of the meaning of Śrī.¹

I reverently accept with the crown of (my) head the dust of the
Guru's feet,

And request to be constantly blessed by the Guru,

The Merciful One, endowed with a manifold knowledge of in-
tuitive wisdom.

The Dharmakāya being peaceful from the beginning,

The illusory appearance of the Ultimate State, born of a Cause,

The Void and the Law of Causality,

Were manifested in the Body of Glory (*Sambhoga-kāya*).

Salutation to the feet of the Guru.²

When investigated, it³ remains unproved,

Born of a secondary cause,

It was declared (by the Buddha) to be manifested and transient.

I salute the Bhaishajyarāja,⁴

Who removes (the dangers of falling into the two extremes of
Eternalism and Nihilism).⁵

As if wishing to encompass the Ten Quarters

1. This is an allusion to the name of the lo-tsā-ba—Chos-rje-dpal.

2. The Guru being the Manifested Body or Nirmāṇa-kāya.

3. 'It' means the nature of the Body of Glory.

4. sMan-pa'i rgyal-po.

5. rtag-chad-mtha'-rtag-mtha' (*śāsvata-anta*) and chad-mtha' (*uccheda-
anta*).

Of the infinite expanse of Heaven,
Though the Guru's perfection is infinite,
I shall reverently write about some aspects (of his earthly life).

The name of the Guru Dharmasvāmin Chaglo-tsā-ba was Dharmasvāmiśrī. He studied with twelve Indian *mahāpaṇḍitas* (great scholars) (lit. "was endowed with the knowledge of twelve great scholars"), and attained the degree of a learned and venerable monk. In general, he was learned in the five secular sciences,¹ and especially, in Tantra,² Grammar,³ and Philosophy.⁴ He was born in the five-cornered white castle called Chag-groñ in the north of lTe'u-ra in Lower gñal,⁵ the place of origin of former scholars of sharp intellect and nimble tongue. His *upādhyāya* (personal teacher) was Chag lo-tsā-ba dGra-bcom,⁶ who was sent to Vajrāsana in India.⁷ He offered to the image of Mahābodhi numerous *maṇḍalas* and offerings of five kinds. He strew (over the image) garlands of flowers, and these remained hanging on the ears of the image as ornaments, to the amazement of the sacristan⁸ (priest) and all others. At Nālandā he propitiated in front of the image of the Saṁvara Temple,⁹ and had a vision of Saṁvara, and showed assiduity in meditation. He was the holder of the Lineage of *upādhyāyas* of dPal dGra-can..¹⁰

His forefather was the elder teacher (*mahāguru*) bKra-śis-dga', learned in all the Sūtras and Tantras of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles (Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna), and especially well read in the great commentaries on the Yoga (Tantra), who composed the rules of drawing the coloured maṇḍala¹¹ of

1. rig-pa'i-gnas-lña, *pañca-vidyā-sthānāni*: sGra'i-rig-pa, *Śabda-vidyā*; gTan-tshigs-kyi-rig-pa, *Hetu-vidyā*; Nañ-gi-rig-pa, *Adhyātma-vidyā*; gSo-ba'i-rig-pa, *Cikitsā-vidyā*; bZo'i-gnas-kyi-rig-pa *Śilpa-sthāna-vidyā*. See, *Mahāvvyūṭpatti*, ed. Sakaki, NNo. 1554-59.

2. shags.

3. sgra.

4. mtshan-ñid.

5. S3 of Lho-brag in Southern Tibet.

6. 1153-1216 A. D.. See *Blue Annals*, II, pp. 1054-6.

7. rGya-gar rDo-rje-gdan.

8. dkon-gñ-r.

9. bDe-mchog-gi-lña-khañ.

10. Name of a monastery.

11. thig-rtsad.

Śrī-Paramādyā.¹ The goddesses Remaṭī and Aparājitā,² wearing the garland of the sun, the moon and skulls, attended on him.

His father was the great teacher (*mahā-āchārya*) Dar-ma 'byuñ-gnas, a devotee of Saṃvara³ in the *śahaja* aspect⁴ and⁵ Vajrapāṇi,⁶ whose left hand was perpetually in the meditative posture,⁶ and his right one holding the rosary. He was endowed with a pleasant voice and a heart which did not forsake. The Dharmasvāmin (i.e. Chaglo-tsā-ba) himself had said, "(my) father had a voice pleasant to hear, but a mind of iron".⁷ When the Dharmasvāmin had entered the womb of (his) mother Chos-'bum, the mother was freed from all desires and feeling of anger, filled with great compassion and aversion to wealth which she gave away right and left, and became known as "Chos-'bum, the Mad One". At the time (of the child's) birth, many auspicious signs appeared. When a loin-cloth⁷ was presented (to the child), two Devaputras showered (on him) a rain of flowers and nectar (*amṛita*), and two Nāga-rājās presented him with a cushion. Thus it is written in the annals of the lTe'u-ra Region.⁸ The Guru's body, who had come for the benefit of sentient beings,

Was neither very big, nor very small.

When seated, great was its brightness,

When standing, it was beautiful from all sides.⁹

Especially, his head and teeth,

Also his eyes, not to be found among men !

When he caused the shower of the Piṭaka-Doctrine to fall,

His speech removed the ignorance of disciples.

Such speech was not to be found among men !

For Ārya Nāgārjuna had said,

"With a large tongue able to speak for a great length of time

1. dPal-mchog (-dañ-po).

2. dKar-mo ñi-zla-thod-phren-can.

3. *Iṣṭadevatā* ; originally a Tantrik form of Mahādeva.

4. bDe-mchog lhan-skyes.

5. Phyag-na rdo-rje.

6. mñam-bshag, *samāpatti*.

7. ras-kyi añ-rag.

8. lTe'u-ra'i rgyud-ris.

9. Here the author of the rnam-thar imitates the style of Tibetan epic songs.

Soft words of Truth,
 Endowed with the sweet voice of Brahmā,
 Exceedingly polite and reverential in speech,
 With teeth very white in colour and uniform,
 Since long accustomed to utter words of Truth,
 Teeth beautifully shaped, forty in number,
 Uniform and well shaped.
 With eyes beholding sentient beings with compassion,
 Free from attachment, anger and ignorance,
 Full of lustre, of sapphire colour,
 With long eye-lashes,
 Aglow with forbearance and of bright virtue.
 Liberated through a serene mind born of meditation."

In conformity with these words, the Dharmasvāmin was born with a large and nimble tongue, endowed with the voice of Brahmā, with teeth white and uniform, well shaped and forty in number, with sapphire-blue eyes, wide open, with thick eye-brows, with a bright face and great lustre. At the age of seven, he mastered the Indian¹ script, the Tibetan script and the Vivarta² script, the method of translating (texts)³ and the drawing of *maṇḍalas*.⁴ From childhood he observed the five precepts of an *upāsaka*.⁵ From the age of eleven till twenty one, he attended continuously on dGra-bcom-pa, the Elder Chaglotsā-ba, and obtained the initiation (*abhisheka*) of Saṃvara,⁶ studied numerous precepts and *śāstras* of the Tantra and Sūtra classes, and obtained the five commands of the Chittotpāda.⁷ In general, the Guru himself had said at 'Ju-phu⁸ that between the age of seventeen and forty five he had made a vow not to separate (himself) from ink and pen.

1. rGya-yig.

2. Vartula.

3. bKa'-bcdd, or "Royal Commands", i.e. the Mahāvīyutpatti and the sGra-sbyor bam-po-gñis-pa.

4. bris-thig.

5. stan-khrims-lña-pa, (1) to abstain from killing (2), to abstain from falsehood (3), to abstain from adultery (4), to abstain from wine, song and dance (5) and to abstain from theft.

6. bDe-mchog.

7. Sems-bskyed-kyi-bka'-lña.

8. Name of monastery in Yar-kluñs.

When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he mediated at bKra-sis-lhun-po¹ of lTe'u-ra, and performed 2,600,000 genuflections in honour of the blue Achala², the lord of the fierce deities³, and had a vision of the tutelary deity⁴. This he kept secret from others, but told about the vision to the *āchārya* Don-shags (Amoghapāśa). The *āchārya* did not believe him, and later, when the Dharmasvāmin was leaving for India, Don-shags-pa said, "Now he will not return from India ! An accident to (his) life might happen, for he has said that he had a vision of the tutelary deity. It is a bad omen ?" Later, when the Dharmasvāmin returned unharmed to lTe'u-ra from Vajrāsana, having accomplished his task, Don-shags-pa believed him, and honoured him more than the others. He showed the Dharmasvāmin great veneration, and is said to have remarked, "This Guru must be a Siddha ! Last year in my dream I saw the sun shining from above the mountain of rGya-tsha, west of lTe'u-ra, so that my entire sleeping room was filled with light. This must have been an auspicious sign (predicting) the Dharmasvāmin's return." When he was twenty, the Elder Dharmasvāmin (dGra-bcōm) said (to him), "You must proceed to India ! After mastering the Vivarta script, you should learn the Abhidharma. Study ! Stay with the Nepālese innkeeper bha-ro⁵ Hañ, "the Short One". They all have been my hosts ! Make your request to the Paṇḍitas at the same time. If you make your request later, your failure to request previously, will be taken as an offence. If able, go to the Indian Vajrāsana. It will come about by the mere drinking of Indian water (i.e. he will get acclimatized and will be able to undertake a journey in India). Learned in Grammar, proceed with nimble tongue !" Such was his farewell exhortation. He recollected that the Elder Dharmasvāmin had visited the Indian Vajrāsana and had acted as interpreter to Śākyaśrī, Buddhaśrī Ratnaśrī, and others. This devotee of Saṃvara and faithful companion of dPyal lo-tsa-ba Chos-kyi-bzañ-po on his journey

1. Name of a meditative cell, or mtshams-khañ.

2. Mi-gyo sñon-po.

3. khro-ba'l-rgyal-po.

4. thugs-dam-lha.

5. bha-ro from Varishtha.

to India, passed away at the age of 64.¹ In this very year, the Dharmasvāmin made the solemn vow not to return to Tibet without having seen the Indian Vajrāsana. Having put his foot on the threshold of the eastern gate of lTe'u-ra, he swore by his head not to return without seeing Vajrāsana.² His maternal uncle, a *kalyāṇa-mitra* learned in Logic (Nyāya) and Vinaya, assisted him. At the time of his going, the Guru received numerous religious instructions from the Sa-skya lo-tsā-ba², the Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba³, the Ņañ-stod lo-tsā-ba⁴, the Bodhisattva⁵ Gro-chen-pa of sŅar-than⁶ and many other scholars. He especially heard many religious instructions from the Mahāguru (bla-ma chen-po) Lha-btsun of Guñ-than⁷, and became learned in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*,⁴ though the books which the Dharmasvāmin could recite from memory did not require the palm of the hand (to hold them). He also studied there (i.e. with Lha-btsun) the *Guhyasamāja*, according to the Nāgārjuna method following the commentary by rŅog (lo-tsā-ba). Thus he stayed in gTsañ for ten years.

The first chapter on the birth of the Dharmasvāmin in Tibet.

1. In 1216 A. D., see *Blue Annals*, II, p. 1056.
2. Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' i gyal-mtshan, 1182-1251.
3. Tshui-śes byams-dpal, b. 1173. See, *Blue Annals*, II, pp. 708-10.
4. Myañ-stod, See, *Blue Annals*, II, p. 1057.
5. The title Bodhisattva is used for living Buddhist monks in Tibet; it no longer possesses there the technical meaning of Bodhisattva either in the Hinayāna or in the Mahāyāna Buddhism.
6. Gro-luñ-pa mDo-sde rgyal-mtshan.
7. Lha-btsun-pa gon-po-dpal, See *Blue Annals* II, p. 1057.
8. mNon-pa Kun-las-btus, Tg. 4054.

CHAPTER II

SOJOURN IN NEPĀLA

When Dhārmavāmin reached the innkeeper's house in Nepāla, the latter told him to rest after his long journey. In the morning he went out, but felt sad. In the evening, when he came to a crossing, he again felt sad and had an urge to meet the Guru without delay. On his return to the inn, he told the innkeeper that he was going. "Well, go?", said the latter. He then visited the Guru Ratnarakshita¹ at the Svayambhū-chaitya,² and offered the Guru a well-made bell. The Guru exclaimed, "an excellent³ *vajraghaṇṭā* (a bell surmounted by a *vajra*)!" The Dharmavāmin thought, "What does he mean by saying an excellent *vajraghaṇṭā* when I presented him with a bell?" The Dharmavāmin explained that in Nepāla and India⁴ a bell surmounted by a *vajra* was called *vajraghaṇṭā*. A bell without a handle (lit. without head) which one attached to the neck of horses and bullocks, was called simply *ghaṇṭā*, or bell (dril-bu). When the Dharmavāmin presented the bell to the Guru, the latter had about three hundred bells received as offerings.⁵ At that time six Tibetans, including the *kalyāṇa-mitra* (priest) sTon-grags and others, were being initiated, but there was no one among them with a knowledge of the Indian language. So the Dharmavāmin had to act as interpreter, and obtained five initiations, such as the bDe-mchog-lha-bcu-gsum-ma (The Thirteen Deities of the Saṃvara Cycle),⁶ and others. "I was grateful to him (i.e. the Guru), and he was grateful to me", said the Dharmavāmin. At the Svayambhū-chaitya⁷ there was

1. Rin-chen-'tsho.

2. 'Phags-pa Śin-kun.

3. pha-la, pha-la bhalā.

4. Lho-Bal, i.e. Nepāla and the country south of Nepāla--India.

5. It is interesting to observe that in the North-Eastern Frontier Area of Assam, Tibetan bells surmounted by a *vajra* are still used as currency.

6. bDe-mchog-lha-bcu-gsum-ma, is the name of a rite. There exist several such initiations belonging to the Saṃvara Cycle. For example, bDe-mchog-lha-dgu.

7. 'Phags-pa Śin-kun.

a monastery.¹ At that time the Guru Ratnarakṣita had completed the erection of several holy images and was preparing the site for the consecration ceremony. The Dharmasvāmin having come, the Guru (Ratnarakṣita) was pleased, and exclaimed "Wonderful² is Tibet ! A man like you was born in Tibet !" He obtained many religious instructions, such as the *Guhyasamāja* according to the method of Nāgārjuna ('Phags-skor) and the Vajrāvali (-nāma-maṇḍalasādhana)³ from the Mahā-paṇḍita Raviन्द्रadeva,⁴ who was an *upāsaka*⁵ endowed with foreknowledge.⁶ He listened on three occasions to the exposition of the mDo-rgyud-rtogs-pa-bsdus-pa⁷ (*Sūtratantrakalpasamgraha*). Though the Paṇḍita had told him that that much was unnecessary, the Dharmasvāmin again requested him, and the Paṇḍita became pleased, and said, "You are one who will benefit many sentient beings" ! In Nepāla, in the Vihāra (gtsug-lag-khañ) of Bu-kham, there was a miraculous image of Avalokiteśvara made of sandal wood, of red colour, in the aspect of a five-year old boy. This Ārya Bu-kham was very famous throughout India. In Tibet (on the contrary) the Svayambhū-chaitya was very famous. On the eighth day of the middle autumn month this image of the Ārya of Bu-kham is taken out and offerings are made to it, and a great spectacle takes place. In general, people make offerings to the image and especially the king and the wealthy people⁸, and all invite the image to their homes and present offerings to it, which consist of the five sacrificial subs-

1. chos-gshi.

2. a-ti-pha-la, "wonderful, excellent" atibhalā. Bhadanta Ānand Kausalyāyan tells me that the use of *ati* with *Balā* is rather irregular, but not impossible in a border region, such as the Nepāla-Tibetan borderland. The expression *bhāla ho* is found in the text of the Life of Atiśa (S. C. Das, "Indian Paṇḍits in Tibet", *J. of the Buddhist Text Soc. of India*, Vol. I, I. Calcutta, 1893, p. 19).

3. dKyil-'khor-gyi-cho-ga rDo-rje-phreñ-ba-shes-bya-ba, Tg. rGyud, 3140.

4. Ni-ma'i-dbañ-po'i-lha.

5. dge-bśān, lay-brother.

6. mñon-śes, abhijñ.

7. mDe-rgyus-rtogs-pa-bsdus-pa'i-sgron-ma, See Cordier, Catalogue, rGyud, LXXV.87.

8. bha-ro from varīṣṭha. I am grateful to Dr. A. S. Altekar for this suggestion.

tances¹, such as curds², milk³, raw-sugar⁴, honey,⁵ and sugar⁶. They pour these substances over the head of the image and then bathe it, the water and victuals are then consumed (by the people). Thus they worship for half a month. Through these ablutions, the bright vermilion red paint (of the image) is washed away. Then on the seventh day of the next month, young Tantrics called *hañ-du*,⁷ holding in their hands fly-wisks and musical instruments, invite the image back to the temple amidst a great spectacle. On the eighth day (of the month) they again paint the image with red dye, said the Dharmasvāmin. The Dharmasvāmin explained that these were the offerings (*dāna*) of the five essences⁸ mentioned in the third chapter of the *Mādhyamika-Ratnāvali*.⁹

Further, in Nepāla there is a Vihāra called Thain, also called the "First Vihāra"¹⁰, or the "Upper Vihāra"¹¹. (In this Vihāra) there was a Stūpa on which every evening a light appeared which was observed by the Venerable Lord (Jo-bo-rje, Atīśa) who inquired of all, "What was it?", but they did not know; only an old woman remarked, "This must be the coloured dust¹² after the erection of the *maṇḍala* by the Buddha Kāśyapa."¹³ The Lord (Atīśa) then erected a temple to worship it. In front of this Stūpa, there is a golden image of Śākyamuni. It is called the Lord Abhayadāna¹⁴. The Indians call this sacred place Dharmadhātuvihāra.¹⁵

In the monastery there was an abbot's seat gilded and adorned with pearls, (for the erection of which) eighty ounces of natural

1. bdud-rtsi-lna.
2. sho.
3. 'o-ma.
4. sbrañ. This word belongs to the Khams dialect. Cf. bu-ram.
5. sbrañ-tsi.
6. ka-ra.
7. hañ-du, personal name.
8. sñiñ-po-lna.
9. dbU-ma rin-chen phreñ-ba, Ratnāvali, Rājaparikathāratnāvali (māla), Tg. sPriñ-yig, No. 4158.
10. Ka-pa'i-gtsug-lag-khañ.
11. Goñ-gl-lha-khañ.
12. rdul-tshon.
13. 'Od-sruñs.
14. Jo-bo Mi-jig-pa-sbyin-pa.
15. Chos-kyi-dbyñs-kyi-gsug-lha-khañ.

gold were used, besides the other four kinds of ornaments. The founder (of the monastery) invited the Guru to occupy the seat and honoured him. From then till the present time the religious rites are properly observed (in the monastery). The Dharmasvāmin said that he did not stay there, but resided at the Svayambhū-chaitya because there was a monastery there. The Dharmasvāmin quoted the passage from the Ratnāvalī¹ (ascribed to Nāgārjuna) which began with the words, "For the Holy Doctrine and the recitation of the Doctrine, the excellent honouring of you, and.....". Again the Guru said, that he, being the son of a Tantric, thought that magic was necessary, and therefore wrote on about five pieces of paper the imprecation (ñān-sñags) known as ma-lo-pa-tra, etc. Later the sheets became blank. At that time he studied many Piṭakas but the thought about the futility of imprecations did not occur to him. When he visited the Guru Ravindra, he realized the futility of imprecations. The Dharmasvāmin remarked, "Great was the grace of the Guru, the imprecations became unnecessary." He stayed in Nepāl for eight full years. The Guru said that at that time he feared that even in India there was no one learned in Grammar.²

The second chapter about the Guru Chaglo-tsā-va's coming to Nepāla.

1. Rin chen pheñ-ba.

2. sgra, vyākaraṇa.

CHAPTER III JOURNEY TO TIRHUT

When the Dharmasvāmin was about to start for India, many scholars, including Khro-phu-pa and Sa-skyapa, with the exception of gTsañ-pa Gye-re and the Guru Ravindra, entreated him not to go, as there might be an accident to his life. Gye-re-ba said, "Even if you were to go to India, there will be no accident !" Ravindra said, "There will be no danger, even if you were to go to India ! We, father and son (i.e. the Guru and the disciple), shall meet again !" And so it happened. The Dharmasvāmin said that these two Gurus were endowed with foreknowledge.¹ His attendant having died in Nepāla, the Dharmasvāmin proceeded alone without attendant. The Dharmasvāmin wrote in a letter that "on the way from Central Tibet (dbUs) to India when I had to struggle alone without attendant; even though wild men (mi-rgod) were numerous, brigands never molested me on the road. This also was due to the grace of the Upādhyāya, the great Dharmasvāmin."²

The Dharmasvāmin said that on the way from Nepāla to India there were three mountain ranges one called Rishiśirsha parvata³ which means "Lofty Summit",⁴ or "Big Head",⁵ and (two) others. Now, having left the country where Nepālī was spoken, he came to a country where Indian was spoken.

The name of the place which he had reached was Tirhut.⁶ At its widest point, three months were needed to cross (the country) from one border to the other ; at its narrowest point, (the distance) was equal to twenty stages (ñin-lam). While travelling with his companion lDan-ma Tshul-khrims señ-ge, a native of Khams, a woman of low caste behaved impudently (towards them). The Dharmasvāmin fled and thus escaped,

1. mñon-śes, abhijñā.
2. The Elder Dharmasvāmin dGra-bcom.
3. Drañ-sroñ-gi-ri U-śi-ra.
4. rTse-mthon,
5. mGo-bo-che.
6. Ti-ra-hu-ti.

but Tshul-khrims seṅ-ge had his arm broken by the girl. The Dharmasvāmin added that at that time Tshul-khrims seṅ-ge kept his vows and this acted as a strong antidote, but that later he broke his vows, and died. He was a *rāga-niśrita* which means "addicted to passions"¹ in Tibetan. He had an attack of Indian fever and died. The Dharmasvāmin who was a *rāgāniśrita*, or "one not addicted to passions", having strictly kept his vows, did not die.

In Tirhut, said the Dharmasvāmin, in the south-west direction from the road, there was a sugar-cane grove² of dark green colour, greener than the other (groves). Raw sugar (bu-ram) used to come from there.

In this country there was a town called Pa-ta³ which had some 600,000 houses and was surrounded by seven walls (lcags-ri). The height of these walls was about equal to that of a Tibetan fort.⁴ Outside of the town walls stood the Rājā's palace which had eleven large gates and was surrounded by twenty one ditches filled with water and rows of trees. There were three gates facing each direction, East, West, and South, and two gates facing North. I did not see the two northern gates, but the others had bridges in front of them. In front of the bridges guards were stationed, more than ten archers at each bridge. These protective measures were due to the fear of the Turushkas, or Gar-logs⁵ who during the year had led an army (against the town), but failed to reach it. It was also said that there were three men experts in swordmanship⁶. The Rājā owned a she-elephant."

The Dharmasvāmin joined a party of some three hundred men. There were also sixteen others going to Vajrāsana. The Dharmasvāmin's companion from Nepāla who was taking his

1. 'dod-chags-la-bsten-pa. 2. bu-ram-siñ-gi-nags-tshal.

3. Patalā. This is identical with Simraongarh, the capital of the Karmātā kings, whose population and dimensions are exaggerated in the text.

4. Bod-kyi-mkhar.

5. Gar-log-Qarlug, name of a Central Asian Turkish tribe. This is the usual Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit Turuṣka. About the Gar-log in Tibetan literature, see, H. Hoffmann, "Die Qarlug in der Tibetaischen Literatur", ORIENS, III, 2, 1950, pp. 190-208.

6. ral-skor.

7. mu-stegs-pa, Sanskrit : tīrthaka.

father's ashes to be immersed in the Gaṅgā, said that they were non-Buddhists taking (their) fathers' ashes to the river Gaṅgā in order to purify the fathers' sins, and all expressed surprise.

In the town of Pa-ta,¹ the Dharmasvāmin and his four companions went in search of provisions, and tarried there for some time. Some of the Dharmasvāmin's companions were overcome by fatigue and stayed behind, and later were not to be found on the road. Near a river, a boatman refused to ferry the Dharmasvāmin and his companions across. As it was getting dark and there were many bamboos along the road, they cut with their knives some bamboos and made torches out of them.² The Dharmasvāmin said that on the way he got a splinter into his foot and got it out with the help of a needle. Then a large bamboo splinter ripped off a piece of skin of the size of the palm of his foot, and he bled profusely. In spite of this, the Dharmasvāmin having taken a bamboo torch in his hand, proceeded to the town to inquire about his companions (whom they had left on the road). After inquiring here and there, the Dharmasvāmin was able to find them about midnight. Some had fallen asleep, others could not sleep and were in distress.

On the following day the Dharmasvāmin agreed to join a company of three hundred who were looking for companions. On the following day they left the place and after covering several stages, they met a man who told them that a buffalo³ had killed the day before three men and that it was dangerous to continue the journey to-day. During the journey, the Dharmasvāmin and his two faithful companions used to walk in the middle of the party of three hundred, neither to the front, nor behind. Then suddenly those who were walking in the front, fled away on seeing a cloud of dust (which appeared on the road). It was the buffalo who the day before had killed three men. Of black colour, breathing heavily and raising dust with its feet, the animal was ready to charge with lowered horns.

1. Patalā.

2. me-sgron. This is still the general custom in the remote villages of India.

3. ma-he from *mahishī*.

The hair on the animal's belly reaching the ground, it seemed to be square-shaped. When looking at it from a distance, it was as if rain was lashing one's face. The Dharmasvāmin said that "ma-hes" meant wild yak¹ in Tibetan, and that there was no corresponding word in another language. Though the danger from the buffalo was great, the Dharmasvāmin assured the protection of the party, and the animal without attacking, disappeared into the jungle. Thus they travelled for ninety stages and reached the non-Buddhist kingdom of Tirhut.

The third chapter on the Journey to Tirhut.

1. gyag-rgog.

CHAPTER IV STAY AT VAISĀLĪ

From there at a distance of six stages lies the uninhabited border of Vaiśālī (Yañs:pa-can). There lies the mountain range Rishiśirsha-parvata, also called the "Lofty Summit",¹ or "Big Head".² Except for dangerous dacoits,³ one is within reach of the town (of Vaiśālī). At its narrowest part the country of Vaiśālī (can be covered) in eight stages, and at its widest part twenty stages. There exists a miraculous⁴ stone image of the Ārya Tārā with her head and body turned towards the left, foot placed flat, and the right foot turned sideways, the right hand in the *vara-mudrā*⁵ and the left hand holding the symbol of the Three Jewels in front of the heart. The image was known to be endowed with great blessing, and the mere beholding of the goddess' face relieved devotees from distress.

When they had reached the city of Vaiśālī,⁶ they were told that the inhabitants were in a state of great commotion and panicstricken because of rumours (about the arrival) of Turushka⁷ troops.

That night the Dharmasvāmin saw in his dream the country of Vajarāsana and conversed with Chag lo-tsā-ba, the Elder. Now to quote from the A-nu-pra-sa-la rje-su-bskyañs-pa'i rgyan, Ślokas (verses) composed by the Dharmasvāmin himself in memory of his Guru's grace,

"Though companions were numerous, and
Notwithstanding the peril from the Turuṣhka soldiery,
And the danger from the wild buffalo.

1. rTse-mthon.

2. mGo-bo-che.

3. śi-skyid-kyi jag-pa, lit. "death is pleasure" i.e. "death is better than an encounter with them."

4. rañ-byon.

5. mchog-sbyin. Both forms *Varā-mudrā* and *Varadā - mudrā* are in use in Tibet.

6. Yañs-pa-can.

7. Gar-log.

Through the Guru's miraculous powers,
Unhindered I beheld the Vajrāsana.

This was due to the grace of Upādhyāya, the great
Dharmasvāmin."

What was meant by the above Śloka? The story of the peril from the wild buffalo was told in the chapter on Tīrhut. And what was meant by the words, "beheld the Vajrāsana through the miraculous power"? When the Guru was preaching during the autumn term¹ at the great monastery of Than-po-che,² he showed him the Ślokas on the upper floor of the ecclesiastic palace. "Did you write this?" inquired the Guru. "I wrote it some five years ago at ITe'u-ra", said he. The Guru then explained the meaning (of the Ślokas).

The Dharmasvāmin said that "when they had reached the city of Vaiśālī, all the inhabitants had fled at dawn from fear of the Turushka soldiery. A fellow guest inquired "when shall we flee?" When the three hundred fellow travellers were preparing to go, I had a dream that I had gone to Vajrāsana and that the Dharmasvāmin, the Elder, had also gone there and had opened with his staff the doors of the temple, saying, "Son, look well at these! Do not be afraid! Come here!" On awakening, I felt a pleasant sensation in my heart.

Then at daybreak all the inhabitants of Vaiśālī fled away, but I did not flee. A companion said, "Well, I also shall stay and stayed behind. Because we three stayed behind, one of the guests also stayed behind. At sunrise, when I came out into the street in front of the door, a female lay-supporter was seen staying in the street; the guests (of the inn) inquired, "Do you have some pleasant news to tell us?" The woman said, "The soldiery left for Western India." All rejoiced and some people said that "the woman must have been the goddess Tārā herself", and saying this the Dharmasvāmin himself smiled.

The Fourth chapter relating the vision of the Vajrāsana in a dream at Vaiśālī.

1. ston-chos.

2. in Yar - kluñs.

CHAPTER V

VISIT TO AND ACCOUNT OF VAJRĀSANA

Southwards from the border of Vaiśālī, at a distance of eight stages, lies Vajrāsana. There is also the river Gaṅgā. The river flows from west to east. Having started early in the morning, one did not reach (the opposite bank of the river?) till evening. There were two ferry boats which had the appearance of boxes, and were tied together with ropes. They could carry about three hundred passengers. In the river there were sea-monsters¹ called *nakra* (crocodile), of the size of a yak. Sometimes these crocodiles caused the boats to sink, sometimes they snatched away passengers from inside the boats, and carried them away in their mouths. Great was the danger!

Across the Gaṅgā lies the country of Magadha. In Tibetan the word means "holding that which became the centre".² *Madhya* mean "middle"³ and "*ga-ti*" "becoming".⁴ *Dharayati*⁵ mean "holding".⁶ This country stretches from Vajrāsana towards the four quarters to a distance of sixty Yojanas,⁷ and is the very centre of the World. The "middle" as explained in the Doctrine, is that "where there is study, reflection, and meditation."⁸ A border region is characterized by the absence of study, etc.

The Vajrāsana is situated in the southern part of Magadha called the South (Dakṣiṇa). There lay the Vulture Peak,⁹ Nālandā, Rājagriha¹⁰ and Veluvana.¹¹

1. chu-srin.
2. dbus-gryur-'chañ.
3. dbus.
4. gyur-pa.
5. Read; *dhārayati*.
6. 'chañ-ba.
7. dpag-tshad.
8. thos-bsam-sgom-gsum, the three duties of a Buddhist.
9. Gridhrakūṭa, Bya-rgod-phuā-po'i-ri.
10. rGyal-po'i-khab.
11. 'Od-ma'i-tshal.

Vikramaśīlā was still existing in the time of the Elder Dharmasvāmin¹ and the Kashmir Paṇḍita², but when the Dharmasvāmin visited the country there were no traces of it left, the Turushka soldiery having razed it to the ground, and thrown the foundation stones into the Gaṅgā.

At the time of the Dharmasvāmin's visit to Vajrāsana, the place was deserted and only four monks were found staying (in the Vihāra). One (of them) said, "It is not good ! All have fled from fear of the Turushka soldiery". They blocked up the door in front of the Mahābodhi image with bricks and plastered it. Near it they placed another image as a substitute. They also plastered the outside door (of the temple). On its surface they drew the image of Maheśvara in order to protect it from non-Buddhists. The monks said, "We five do not dare to remain here and shall have to flee." As the day's stage was long and the heat great, said the Dharmasvāmin, they felt tired, and as it became dark, they remained there and fell asleep. Had the Turushkas come, they would not have known it.

At daybreak they fled towards the North following the rut of a cart, and for seventeen days the Dharmasvāmin did not see the face of the image (i. e. the Mahābodhi image). At that time also a woman appeared, who brought the welcome news that the Turushka soldiery had gone far away.

Then the Dharmasvāmin returned to Vajrāsana, and stayed there worshipping and circumnambulating the image of Mahābodhi.

One day it was reported that the Rājā was to come out of the forest (where he had fled on the arrival of the Turushka soldiery). The Rājā was a descendant of Rājā Devasthira,³ who belonged to the family of the Lord's maternal uncle, and was called Buddhasena,⁴ and was the ruling Rājā of Magadha, residing at Vajrāsana. When the Rājā was coming out of the forest, the Dharmasvāmin and his four *parivrājaka* (monk) companions happened

1. Chag dGra-bcom; he lived from 1153-1216.

2. Kha-che paṇ-chen Śākyasribhadra, 1145-1225 A. D.

3. Lha-brtan.

4. Sañs-rgyas-sde.

to be on the road. The Rājā was riding an elephant. The side of the animal was one fathom¹ in length and its height equal to that of a middle-sized house. The Rājā was sitting in a *haudā*² ornamented with ivory and jewels, and was wearing a turban³ of white silk ornamented with various jewels. The Rājā was surrounded by five hundred soldiers armed with swords, lances and arrows, pointing them upwards towards the sky. Two men led the elephant by its nose with the help of iron hooks. As soon as the Rājā had noticed the Dharmasvāmin and his four companions in the distance, he took off his silk turban, and a thought occurred to the Dharmasvāmin, "What would the Rājā do next?" On reaching the place where the Dharmasvāmin was standing, the men halted (the elephant) by pulling at the root of the elephant's trunk with the iron hooks, and five attendants assisted the Rājā to alight from the elephant with the help of a rope-ladder,⁴ fixed on the side (of the elephant). The Rājā greeted the Dharmasvāmin and his four companions with the words, "Salutation to the son of the Buddha?"⁵ And the Dharmasvāmin remarked, "Such a great Indian Rājā saluting a religious mendicant ! Tibetans are like cattle, and do not understand it !"

At Vajrāsana there are many wonders and numerous exceptionally holy objects of worship,⁶ such as the Bodhi-tree,⁷ the image of Mahābodhi, the Gandhola erected by the Dharmarāja Aśoka, the corner-tooth of the Tathāgata, the two foot-prints of the Blessed One on the empty stone throne of Śākyamuni of the 'Phrul-snañ Temple of Tibet, the stone railing⁸ erected by Ārya Nāgārjuna, and the Temple of the Tārā known as the Tārāvihāra.

1. 'dom.

2. For *haudā* the author uses *khri*, or "seat, throne".

3. prog-shu.

4. 'breñ-thag-gi-skas.

5. Ra-hu-la he bandha-na, i.e. he Rāhula vandanam ; here Rāhula is used in the sense of a son of the Buddha, a Buddhist monk. The sentence is translated into Tibetan -Kye Jo-bo-la phyag-'tshal-lo, "Salutation to the Master" In the Buddhist Vinaya a monk is often called Śākyaputra son of Śākya.

6. rten.

7. Bodhivṛkṣa, byañ - chub-kyi śiñ.

8. rdo'i-dra-mig.

(Among the wonders to be seen at Vajrāsana) there was the blowing of the conch by the Nāgarāja. To the east of Vajrāsana there was a hole of the size of a human head in the wall of a small building where clay votive offerings¹ were kept. When early in the morning at sunrise, one placed one's ear against it, one could hear a sound similar to that of a conch, and this heralded the advent of the hot season, said the Dharmaśvāmin.

At the foot of the Bodhi-tree, the Great Muni having spread a mat made of Kuśa grass and using the tree trunk as support, attained Supreme Enlightenment. In this Bhadrakalpa all the Thousand Buddhas attained Supreme Enlightenment at the foot of this tree. The Gandhola of Vajrāsana is called in Tibetan either *Gandhakuṭi*,² or the Pinnacle.³ It was erected by the Dharmarāja Aśoka and is 35 cubits in height. It can clearly be seen from a distance of two stages.⁴ The Dharmaśvāmin said that its pinnacle⁵ of glittering white looked like a flame and that it shone like a shield placed flat on the ground in sunshine. In front of the eastern door of the Gandhola there were three (covered) passages.⁶

Behind it, at the foot of the Bodhi-tree and supported by its two trunks was the symbol of the Viśva-vajra,⁷ half a *yojana* in size indicating the site of the Vajrāsana. In the centre⁸ of this Vajra grows the Bodhi-tree. The looking after the two tree trunks is entrusted to the Eastern Temple of the Dharmarāja Aśoka. The tree stands inside a fort-like structure, surrounded on the South, West and North by a brick-wall; it has pointed leaves of bright green colour. Having opened a door, one sees a large trench⁹ at the foot of the Bodhi-tree, which is covered

1. tsha-tsha.

2. Dri'i-gtsaṅ-khañ.

3. dbu-rtse, śikhara.

4. P. ñin-lam.

5. pa-lcog.

6. 'khyams-khrag, Skt. Chaṅkrama

7. rdo-rje-rgya-gram.

8. lte-ba. According to most of the Tibetan *mahātuyas* (gnas-yig) a gigantic viśva-vajra occupied the centre of Vajrāsana (Buddhagayā), and was said to have been built by devas. The Bodhi-tree grew in its centre.

9. skyon-ma.

by the Vajra and has the shape of a basin ; the two tree trunks seem to grow out of it. The devotees worship (the Bodhi-tree) with curds, milk and perfumes, such as sandal wood, camphor,¹ etc. They bring the offerings from afar in vessels, and pour them out into (the trench). Thus they worship the Bodhi-tree and keep it constantly moist.

The face of the Mahābodhi image inside the Gandhola is two cubits, i.e. 36" in height. One is never satiated to behold such an image, and has no desire to go and behold another. The Dharmasvāmin said that even people with little faith when standing in front of the image felt it impossible not to shed tears. This manifested image or *nirmāṇa-kāya* was endowed with the power of bestowing great blessing. As said in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*—² "The make, the birth, and Enlightenment.....", there are three kinds of manifested bodies;³ fashioned images, such as painted images, etc.' manifested bodies incarnating in sentient beings, such as birds and deer,⁴ and the highest form of manifested body, manifested in the twelve deeds⁵. Self-manifested images⁶ belong to the (class) of fashioned images.

It is said that the image was erected by a young son of a Brāhmaṇa some eighty years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. According to this story, once, when three brothers were playing together, the youngest boy began crying and ran to his mother who enquired about the cause, and the child said, "My two elder brothers believe in non-Buddhists and so have erected a non-Buddhist temple. They told me that the Buddhists were not good, but that the non-Buddhists were good, and thus hurt me." The mother said, "You, three brothers, should not quarrel ! At the foot of Northern Snow Mountains,⁷ there is an image of the god Maheśvara⁸ of the non-Buddhists; go and ask the god

1. ga-pur.

2. *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra*, ed. S. Lévi, vol. I (Sanskrit text) p. 26. *Trividham nirmāṇam Silpakarmasthānanirmāṇam | vineyavaśena yathe topapattish-nirmāṇam | uttamanirmāṇam cha Tushitabhavanavāsādikam*

3. *Nirmāṇa-kāya*.

4. śa-ram-bha śarabha.

5. mdzad-pa bcu-gñis.

6. rañ-byon.

7. Himālayas.

8. dBañ-phyug-chen-po.

which doctrine is better, that of the non-Buddhists, or that of the Buddhists." The three brothers then said, "We cannot reach there !" The mother said, "I have some ointment which imparts swiftfootedness", and having put some of it on the boy's feet, she sent them off. Along the road, they saw many Buddhist monks¹ who asked the boys where they were going. The boys replied that they were going to worship Maheśvara.

The two elder boys were filled with doubt and thought, "It seems the Buddhists are better !" The younger boy thought, "the Buddhists are better", and rejoiced at the thought. They asked Maheśvara, and the god said, "I have eight Protectors of the World.² I possess whatever is needed in this life." When they (the boys) asked, "What was to be done in the next life ?" Maheśvara replied, "I know of no way to help, you should honour Buddhist monks."³ The three brothers inferred from that that the Siddhānta of the Buddhists was better. After they had returned into the presence of their mother, she said, "I knew beforehand that the Buddhists were better, but because the two elder ones did not wish to listen, I sent you there." The boys entered a Buddhist monastery. Each of them erected an object of worship.⁴ The eldest boy erected a Vihāra at Rājagṛha,⁵ which became known as the Vihāra of Veluvana.⁶ The middle one erected a Vihāra to the west of it at Vārāṇasī, which became known as the Vihāra of the Dharmachakrapravartana.⁷ The youngest boy thought, "I did not get the best of the paternal inheritance. My two elder brothers are more influential. I was born the youngest." Said the mother, "You should not get displeased ! The best of the three shares is the seat under the Bodhi tree, and this you get ! Place an image on that seat, facing towards the East." Then the youngest son thought, "Whom shall I entrust with the making of the image, and of what

1. *bande-vandya*.

2. *Lokeśvara, 'jig-rten-gyi dba'i-phyug*.

3. *na'i-pa'i ban-de*

4. *rten*.

5. *rGyal-po'i-khab*.

6. *'O-ma'i-tshal*.

7. *Chos-kyi 'khor-lo bskor-ba'i gtsug-lag-khañ*

material the image should be made?" In (his) dream he received the following indication, "The material (should consist of three parts), one of precious substances, such as gold, etc., one of fragrant substances¹ such as camphor,² etc.; one part (should consist) of sandal ointment.³ Place the three parts inside the Gandhola. Further, the sandal known as *Gośirsha* is found on the banks of the river Nirañjanā. Look for it in the sand-hollows (pith). During seven days do not let anyone enter inside the (Gandhola). The image will appear (by itself). There is no need of an image-maker !" (The youngest son) having been told that the sandal wood was to be found in the sand, searched for it, but did not find it, and was much afflicted. The mother said, "I forgot to tell you that you will find it in a hollow where an elephant had laid down." Elephants tormented by heat are attracted by the scent (of the sandal) and are in the habit of lying down on it. Having obtained whatever he required from such a hollow, after seven days some one said that it should be opened before the indicated time. The mother said that it should not be opened before the indicated time, and remarked, "Now, since there is no one else except me who had seen the face of the Buddha, it is for me to see whether (the image) is like Him, or not. Others will not be able to determine it ! At the age of twenty I had taken the vows of a lay-devotee⁴ in the presence of the Fully Enlightened Buddha ! I am to pass away at the age of hundred". Without listening to the mother's words, they opened the door a day before the indicated time, and they found that except for the little toe of the right foot, the image had formed itself. The mother said, "In general, the likeness is great, but it has four distinct peculiarities, whereas the *ushṇīṣha* (on the Lord's head) was not visible, it is visible (on the image.). It does not show one of the four postures⁵ ! Whereas (the Lord) was preaching the Law, this (image) does not preach. Whereas (The Lord's body) was endowed

1. dri-bzañ.

2. ga-pur.

3. tsan-dan-gyi-lde-gu.

4. upāsikā, dge-bsñen-ma.

5. spyod-lamlis hi; sitting, lying, standing and walking.

with lustre, this (image) is not endowed to such an extent. Except for these four (peculiarities), it is similar to the Buddha Himself." The Mother was (a manifestation) of the Ārya Tārā. She presented an emerald,¹ out of which they fashioned the eyes of the image. It is told that the precious stone which was inserted between the eyebrows (of the image) emitted such light that formerly one was able to read at dusk. A Turushka² soldier having placed a ladder climbed up and pulled the stones out. They say that while coming down the ladder, the soldier fell and the two eyes (of the image) were broken into bits. The brilliance (of the stone) by which one could read, then grew dim. The Dharmasvāmin said that, "even now there was a beautiful³ white glow."

The courtyard, comprising the three (covered) passages, (*chaṅkrama*); the Gandhola temple, and the Bodhi-tree, were surrounded by a circular stone railing,⁴ similar to the wall built by Āchārya Nāgārjuna. The open spaces between the railings could accomodate a young Tibetan bullock, and the thickness of the stones was equal to that of a middle sized Tibetan column. It was so well built that a mad bull could not destroy it. Its top was covered by a stone netting, and the foundation was well built up with stones. There was also a circular passage.⁵ The stone work of the foundation was easy to sweep, polished and did not require any plastering.

Inside the court-yard there were twenty stone pillars. All the stones were well fashioned and did not show any clefts. The stones were ornamented with different figures, such as leaves, etc. The Dharmasvāmin said that the word "*patra*" (in Sanskrit) was used to denote a painting, or ornament. The Dharmasvāmin also said that the stones were anointed with a fragrant substance brought from the Nāga region and that the plaster brought by Yakṣhas⁶ emitted a perfume. The Dharmasvāmin said that

1. mar-gad, from *marakaṭa*.

2. Gar-leg.

3. lam-me-ba.

4. rdo'i dra-mig.

5. skor-khañ.

6. gnod-Sbyin.

inside the court-yard stood the empty throne of Śākyamuni of the 'Phrul-snañ (temple) of Tibet which was worshipped, and an eternal offering lamp was kept in front of it. In India and Nepāla¹ people used to say that in Tibet by the mere seeing of the face of Śākyamuni people were saved from going to Hell.

The Dharmasvāmin also said that at Vajrāsana a corner-tooth of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni was preserved in a golden relic-holder.² On auspicious occasions the relic-holder with the tooth was brought out (lit. invited) to the court-yard and placed on a large flat stone which had the shape of a lotus leaf. They sprinkled on it sweet water mixed with the three "white ones"³ (curds, milk and butter), honey, and sugar.⁴ The water which accumulated below the stone was collected below the court-yard into numerous brass vessels and was then used both for bathing and drinking. The Dharmasvāmin said that when the tooth was being carried, it used to increase (in size) from the top and from below.

At Vajrāsana there are also the foot-prints⁵ of the Mahāmuni. Formerly, a thought occurred to the Fully Enlightened Buddha whether in future times those sentient beings of sharp intellect, who had mastered the Scriptures⁶ and disciplined their faculties, would be able, or not to appear as Buddha in the World?" and doubt was produced in his mind. In order to remove this doubt. He made the two imprints of His feet on the stone. This stone exists even nowadays. The stone, which is flat and square in shape, is situated in front of the inner gate, on this side of the large offering lamp placed outside the eastern gate of the court-yard. On each (of the four) sides it is three cubits in width and one span⁷ in height, and five fingerwidth⁸ of the (hand) of the Dharma-

1. Lho-Bal.

2. ga'u

3. dkar-gsum.

4. The five objects of worship mentioned here are slightly different from those on p. 55. Here butter is substituted for raw sugar. There is often a slight variation of this nature.

5. Shabs-rjes.

6. gsun-rab.

7. Mthe.

8. phyag-ser.

svāmin-lotsāva. The foot-prints are four spans¹ in length and four-finger-width (inches) in depth. The stone is very hard, of white colour, and has a rough surface. Having made the two imprints, the Bodhisattva meditated on the Void² in front of the Bodhi-tree and obtained Buddha-hood.

Formerly it was intended to build a chapel³ over the foot-prints but learned Paṇḍitas were of the opinion that if a chapel were built, it would require a door and a sacristan⁴ who would ask remuneration (from worshippers), and the number of devotees (those who would come to see the foot-prints) would become less, and thus a chapel was not built.

Further, the Dharmasvāmin said, there were the ruins of a stone gate,⁵ its upper part about two cubits in size, supported by two stone pillars erected by the Āchārya Hayaghosha.⁶ People going to fetch water for the ablution and anointing of the foot-prints with medicated perfumes,⁷ used to touch the gate with their fore-heads, and thus secure blessing, and there was a mark left on the stones.

Straight in front of the eastern gate, inside the wall on the outside of (the stone) with the foot-prints, there was a large offering lamp.⁸ A flat stone of the size of a door was placed on a stone pillar similar to a tree trunk, on the top of it was placed a smaller stone, and on top of it another smaller stone, the arrangement (of stones) being similar to the steps of a stūpa; on top of the pyramid was placed a row of offering lamps. At the head of the row (of lamps) stood a large offering-lamp which used to burn day and night, and could not be extinguished even by a strong wind, and the sound made by the flickering of the flame could be heard (from a distance). This offering lamp, which was seen in line with the stone with the foot-prints, the

1. mtho.
2. Śūnyatā.
3. mchod-khañ.
4. dkon-gñer.
5. rta-babs.
6. rTa-dbyaṅis, Aśvaghosha.
7. sman-gyi-dri.
8. mar-me'i-mchod-sdoñ.
9. bañ-rims

court-yard, the image of the Mahābodhi, and the eastern gate, was an object of worship.

On the outside, at the distance of an arrow shot, on each of the sides of the square wall, there were three gates, the Eastern, Western and Northern. In the dPuñ-bzañ-gis shus-pa'i rgyud¹ it is said that "gates faced the East, North and West ; towards the South there was never any gate." Accordingly there was no gate facing South in the great ancient Vihāras of Tibet. Inside the three great gates no one slept except the sacristans.² There are three hundred sacristans, natives of Ceylon,³ who belong to the Śrāvaka⁴ school; others (schools) have no such right.

In front of the central Northern Gate there is a Vihāra. In all, there are twelve Vihāras. In each of the Vihāras there are about ten, or about six, or seven, or fifteen monks.⁵ The Dharmasvāmin said that the monastic cells⁶ had from the outside the shape of Stūpas, and from the inside that of human dwellings. They were painted in bright white colour and there were a great many of them, according to Dharmasvāmin. The whitewash⁷ was obtained from the river (in lumps) which were similar in shape to the inside of a fish, according to Dharmasvāmin. After rain, the Stupas became whiter, and the rain did not wash the paint off.

On the outskirts of Vajrāsana there was a thick jungle.

When the Guru Dharmasvāmin⁸ visited the Vajrāsana-Saṅgha-vihāra⁹ carrying an Indian manuscript¹⁰ of the *Ashtasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*,¹¹ the keeper, a Śrāvaka,¹² enquired, "What book is it?" The Dharmasvāmin answered that it was the

1. 'Phags-pa dPuñ-bzañ-giss hus-pa shes-bya-ba'i-rgyud, Āryasubāhu-paripricchānāmataṇura, Kg. 805.

2. dkon-gñer.

3. Siñ-gha-gliñ-pa.

4. ñan-thos-pa.

5. pravrajikas.

6. grwa-khañ.

7. dkar-rtsi.

8. bLa-ma Chos-rj.

9. rDo-rje-gdan-dge-'dun-gyi-gtsug-lag-khañ.

10. rGya-dpe-rGya-gar-gyi-dpe-cha.

11. brGyad-stoñ-pa.

12. Nan-thos-pa.

Prajñāpāramitā.¹ The Śrāvaka said, "You seem to be a good monk, but this carrying on your back of a Mahāyāna book is not good. Throw it into the river !" He had to hide it. The Śrāvaka said further, "The Buddha did not preach the Mahāyāna; it was enunciated by one called Nāgārjuna, a man of sharp intellect." The Dharmasvāmin worshipped an image which was either that of Khasarpaṇa² or that of Tārā. Again, said the sacristan, "You seem to be a good monk, but it is improper to worship a house-holder."³

The sacristan then raised his hand according to the general custom, and said "aroksha⁴ ho" which means in Tibetan, "May I be free from illness !" ⁵ When the Dharmasvāmin had performed one *pradakṣiṇā*, they asked him, "Who he was ?" and the Dharmasvāmin replied, "Bhoṭa ho" i.e. "I am a Tibetan".⁶ The attendants did not believe him, and thought that the Dharmasvāmin with his well-formed teeth and his knowledge of Sanskrit must be an Indian. They said, "He is pretending ! He is not a Tibetan ?" But one of the sacristans noticing the corns on the toes of the Dharmasvāmin's feet, exclaimed, "Look, look ! Here are the marks of wearing boots ! These are found in Tibet !" They then understood the Dharmasvāmin to be a genuine (Tibetan). They said, "How is it that one knowing so much Sanskrit is found in Tibet ?" The Dharmasvāmin replied that he had studied it, but they laughed.

The Dharmasvāmin spent the summer retreat of three months at Vajrāsana. At that time, the Dharmasvāmin said, he acted as interpreter for a group of monks speaking different dialects, and they amassed tens of thousand of requisites, and having satisfied their needs, left for their respective countries.

In Vajrāsana there was a temple of the Tārā. In it there was a miraculous stone image of the goddess with her face looking towards the outside of the temple. The sacristan once thought,

1. Pra-jñā-pāramitā ho, Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa yin.

2. Avalokiteśvara.

3. khyim-pa.

4. Skt. *ariga*.

5. nad-med-par-gyur-shig.

6. Bod yin.

"This looking towards the outside while offerings are made inside (the temple) is not good." "Well then", said the goddess, and turned her face inside (the temple). The image became known as the "Tārā with the turned face."¹ Even now there is a stone image. When the temple was visited by Jo-bo-rje,² the door of the temple opened by itself, and the Tārā "with the turned face" uttered the following words, "If one wishes to proceed from the degree of a sentient being,³ which represents the Cause, to that of the Buddha, which is the Fruit, one should purify the Bodhichitta."

Also it is said that when a Śrāvaka teacher was carried away by a river, and was certain to perish, he thought, "In Mahāyāna there is one called Tārā which saves people from drowning," and he cried out "Āryā Tārā !" The Tārā appeared in the middle of the river, and said, "When you were well, you did not remember me. Now when you are in peril, you shout 'Tārā, Tārā', Get out !" and with her right hand the goddess indicated to him the road, and the water subsided up to (his) waist, and the man was saved. When he looked up, he saw the goddess with her hand stretched out standing in the river. Having manifested herself to many of (his) companions, the goddess again changed into a stone image, which was then brought (lit. 'invited') to the Tārā temple, and is now installed in it, and is known by the name of the "Tārā of the River."⁴

There was also one called the "Laughing Tārā,"⁵ a miraculous stone image with the right hand covering the face, representing the goddess laughing defiantly at the Evil One, when Māra attempted to harm the Enlightened One at the time of the Supreme Enlightenment. Formerly, a man tormented

1. Shal-'gyur 'Tārā.

2. Atiśa.

3. Sems-can-gyi-sa, Skt. *sattva-bhūmi*.

4. Chu-kluñ sGrol-ma.

5. hulutā, bshad-pa'i sGrol-ma; Tshe-rin dban-rgyal's Tibetan Sanskrit Dictionary, ed. Bacot, fol. 153a, gives huluh for bshad-pa; cf. Edgerton, "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary", p. 620, under *Huduhuduyati*, "roars," and huluhulu.

by a demon propitiated the Tārā. The goddess appeared in front of him, and uttered the sound "Ha-ha-ha-ha", and immediately all (his) ailments left him. As in the previous case, having changed into a stone image, the image became known as the "Ha-ha Tārā".

The end of the fifth chapter describing the visit of the Guru Dharmasvāmin Chag lo-tsā-ba to Vajrāsana.

CHAPTER VI

STŪPAS BUILT BY AŚOKA

The Gandhola of Vajrāsana was formerly erected by the young son of a Brāhmaṇa. When about 180 years had passed since the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, the Dharmarāja Aśoka¹ had the former structure placed inside an enclosure, and had it enlarged. From the outside it has the shape of a Stūpa, from inside that of a Vihāra. This Rājā Dharmāśoka, who erected (the new structure), was the king indicated by the Mahāmuni in a prophecy. Once when the Teacher was making a begging round of Śrāvastī, a woman offered him some rice gruel.² The woman's son who was playing with other children, on seeing (the Teacher), had faith born in him. He took a measure³ of sand, and held up by a playmate, he presented it to the Teacher, who reached down with his alms bowl,⁴ and accepted (the offering). The woman scolded the boy with the words, "Don't do it!" But the Teacher said, "Do not scold him! He is endowed with pure faith, and will have a great fate." The sand he handed over to Ānanda and made him count (the grains), of which ten million were counted, and the Teacher uttered the following prophecy, "Ānanda, a hundred years hence, after my Nirvāṇa, in the city of Kusumapura⁵ (i.e. Pāṭaliputra) there will appear a king called Aśoka who will erect during one night ten million Stūpas containing relics of the Tathāgata. This boy, who held the child up, will become one named Yaksharatha⁶ and will assist him in the erection of Stūpas. This child, who made the offering of sand, will be reborn as a god, and a hundred years after my Parinirvāṇa, will be reborn as Rājā Aśoka. He will promulgate new laws. Some he will establish in peace,

1. Mya-ñan-med.
2. 'bras-thug.
3. sñim-pa.
4. lhuñ-b zed.
5. Me-tog-can
6. gNod-sbying śin-rta.

like a god ; against others he will lead armies and wage wars, like an Asura ; to some he will mete out punishments like hell.

When the customs of the six kinds of sentient beings¹ had become purified, a novice from the country of Suvarṇadvīpa² came to the kingdom. He found the queen's ornament, which a crow had carried away when the queen was taking her bath, and took it to the market place and enquired whose it was. The people accused him of having stolen it and sentenced him to be punished. The Rājā said, "Formerly such novices were not sentenced to death ; kill him by boiling him in melted butter ?" Though the ministers boiled him for three days, the novice did not die and only sparkling drops of dew appeared. The Rājā enquired, "Who are you ?" The novice replied, "My Upādhyāya is an Arhat ! I have reached the stage of one "who had entered the stream",³ and fire will not burn me." On hearing these words, the Rājā had faith born in him, and requested the novice to preach the Doctrine. After the novice had preached the Doctrine, the Rājā said, "We have punished you ; please tell us how to expiate the sin ?" The novice said, "I do not know of a way of doing it. You should ask my Upādhyāya." They invited the Arhat who said, "You, Rājā, should erect during one night ten million Stūpas containing relics of the Tathāgata, and your sin will be purified." The Rājā said, "I am unable to do that much and won't find the relics." The Arhat replied, "You were indicated by the Buddha in a prophecy. If you propitiate Yakshas, you will be able to erect them. As to the relics, Rājā Ajātaśatru's⁴ share consisting of six Magadha measures⁵ was placed in six golden containers, and buried in the Veluvana⁶ grove of Rājagṛha.⁷ You can take them out !" Then the Rājā proceeded to recover the relics but was unable to get them out, because the site was protected by a wheel with

1. rigs-drug.

2. gSer-glin.

3. śrota-āpanna, rgyun-du-shugs-pa.

4. Ma-skyes-dgra.

5. Ma-ga-dha'i-bre-drug.

6. 'O-ma'i-tshal.

7. rGyal-po'i-khab.

sharp spikes¹. Having found out that the wheel was set in motion by water, the Rājā enquired about the source of the water. When the others could not tell him, an old woman said, "The water comes from the hill over there to the south-east." This hill to the south of Rājagriha, from east to west, was oblong in shape. On its lower northern slope was situated the dark green park of Veluvana.² Its summit lay to the south-east of Rājagriha. They dug the ground and found water coming out from a stone coffer.³ Having cut off the water, they stopped the wheel with the sharp spikes, and examined the place. On a small casket they found an inscription which read, "In future a destitute Rājā will discover this casket". The Rājā became enraged and said, "I am not a beggar ! The (indicated) discoverer of the casket must be some one else !" Pride having been born in him, the Arhat said, "Do not be proud ! Accept it with reverence ?" The Rājā obeyed and examined the casket. Inside the casket, on the four corners of a golden container with the relics, were four sparkling jewels, the price of each one of them could not be met by the entire kingdom of the Rājā. The Rājā was filled with humility, and thought, "The ancient Rājās must have been wealthy," and thus his pride was checked. Then following the advice of the Arhat, the Rājā propitiated the Yakshas.⁴ He propitiated, (especially) the great Yaksha⁵ called Ratha,⁶ the Virtuous, and by the mere exhortation of the (Yaksha), the work was completed. With the help of magic power (of the Yaksha), at first the Gandhola of Vajrāsana and the great Stūpa called Bhagarāhula (called in Tibetan Jo-bo Chos-kyi-'byuñ-gnas, or the Lord Dharmasambhava) situated on the banks of the river Nairanjanā east of Vajrāsana, were completed in one night. Inside the Stūpa, the Rājā enshrined, $\frac{1}{2}$ parts of the entire quantity of relics. By midnight of the next night, the Yaksha erected simultaneously ten million

1. mtshon-cha'i-'khor-lo.

2. 'O-ma'i-tshal.

3. sgrom.

4. gnod-sbyin.

5. mahā-yaksha, gnod-sbyin-chen-po.

6. Śiñ-rta.

similar Stūpas with relics in various localities of Jambūdvīpa. The Yaksha said, "Behold the completed Stūpas erected by your order?" With the help of his magic power, the Yaksha within one moment carried the Rājā to the various localities where the Stūpas had been erected. The Rājā offered silver, gold, and ornaments, and made the solemn wish to obtain the Highest Enlightenment through this virtuous act. For 87 years the Rājā worshipped the Stūpas and lived to the age of 150, and then passed away, and was reborn as a god. The prophesy relating to this Bālachakravartin Rājā¹ is told in details in the Mañjuśrīmūla-tantra. Because of the length (of the story), we did not write it here. The story is told in the third chapter about the precious garland of Rājā La-gtam and the chapter of the Dharmarāja Aśoka, redeemed from death, known as Vāgīśvara.

The sixth chapter on the Dharmarāja Aśoka.

1. sTobs-kyis-'khor-lo-sgyur-ba-chos-kyi-rgyal-po.

CHAPTER VII

VISIT TO NON-BUDDHIST IMAGES¹

About a Yojana² to the east of Vajrāsana flows the river Nairañjanā.³ The river flows from the south-west towards the north-east. In summer a hide boat is required⁴ to ferry passengers across, in winter it can be crossed without boat. On the banks of this river, at a distance of about two arrow shots, on the very spot where formerly the Blessed One had performed austerities, there stands a blessed stone image representing the Blessed One with an emaciated body, and the stone images of the two boys who were planting saplings,⁵ and on seeing the Blessed One had exclaimed, "This one must be dead !"

At the foot of the rock in Magadha there is a stone image representing the Blessed One who had offered his body by jumping from the summit of the rock, and was devoured by a tigress, commemorating the Jātaka⁶ story relating to the rebirth of the Great Muni⁷ (Mahāmuni), the Bodhisattva, as Prince Mahāsattva, i.e. sÑiñ-stobs chen-po, or Sems-dpa' chen-po (in Tibetan), when he had perceived a tigress with newly born cubs which was dying from hunger, and resolved to sacrifice himself by offering his body. The image is considered to be sanctified, and many people come to make offerings and offer lamps. The Dharma-svāmin said, the site was called the "Vihāra of the Tigress."⁸

At another place of the same locality, there is a stone image representing the Blessed One holding the alms bowl⁹ and a monkey ; this image commemorates the presentation of honey to the Bodhisattva by a monkey. The image is found inside a

1. This is the title as given at the end of the chapter. The chapter however gives an account of some Buddhist images also (A. S. A.).

2. dpag-tshad.

3. dGa'-skyes.

4. ko-ba'i-gru.

5. śiñ-bu.

6. sKye-rabs.

7. rgyal-bu.

8. sTag-mo.'i-gtsug-lag-khañ.

9. *Patra*, lhuñ-bzed.

temple, the door of which faces east. The Dharmasvāmin also said that in front of that door there was also a dried up well surrounded by a brick wall.

South of Vajrāsana, at the distance of a month's journey, there was the abode of the non-Buddhist god Somanātha.¹ Non-Buddhists told the Āchārya Virwapa,² "You should worship our god!" The Āchārya replied, "I can worship your god, but will you be pleased?" Replied the non-Buddhist, "We shall not be displeased". "Well," said the Āchārya, "We should then invite the Rājā to be witness", and having requested the Rājā to act as witness, he prostrated himself once in front of the Mahādeva, and the image split into two. Having placed the two parts together the Āchārya again prostrated himself in front of it, and the image broke into four pieces. The Āchārya said, "When I was told to prostrate anyself. I prostrated myself once before the god, and though the image shuddered, I was unable to split it. I then looked at the image, and saw clearly the image of the Buddhist god Amitābha on its head. When I prostrated myself again, the image split." Then the non-Buddhists said, "Do not prostrate!" Then the Āchārya advised them, saying, "Instead of killing three hundred buffaloes³ as offering to the image in each house, offer three hundred loads of grain." They did so, and from that time the slaughter of animals (cattle) was discontinued. Even now the offerings of paddy to the image greatly benefit travellers. This paddy is called unthrashed rice. The Dharmasvāmin said that the unthrashed rice is called "with husk".⁴ When people, desirous of progeny and wealth, worship this image, their prayer is granted.

Again, in Magadha there is a non-Buddhist stone image called Devī Kālī, or Lha-mo Nag-mo (in Tibetan). In front of the chapel⁵ there is a dried up well, and a gate built of loose stones, facing East. There exists a story that in ancient times this stone image made a fool talk, after which he became a learned Paṇḍita. Though he had propitiated a non-Buddhist god, he was bestowed with the mastery of this World. Formerly,

1. Zla-ba-mgon-po.

2. Virūpa.

3. ri-phyugs.

4. lkog-ma-phud-pa

5. mChod-khañ.

in India a Rājā had a daughter who was very learned in Sanskrit.¹ When the Rājā decided to give her away in marriage, the daughter said, "If there is one more learned than me in Sanskrit, I shall go (to him). If you give me to another, I shall not go?" The Rājā made enquiries, saying, "Who is learned in Grammar?" They said, "The most learned was Vararuchi".² The Rājā said, "Daughter, I shall give you to Vararuchi?" The daughter replied, "I am more learned than Vararuchi. I am not going to him?" And thus they were unable to make her go. Vararuchi became disgusted, and thought, "One should find a fool as a husband for this girl!" Accordingly he went in search of a fool. He saw a man sitting on a tree branch and cutting it at the root. Vararuchi thought, here was a fool. The branch broke and the man fell down. Vararuchi then said to him, "You should marry the Rājā's daughter?" In India there was a custom to pronounce a benediction when begging. Vararuchi taught the fool to say "*Om svasti*". When the fool had mastered it, he took him to the Rājā's palace, and said, "He is a great Paṇḍita! He is my teacher. You should give the daughter to him!" The Rājā said, "If it is so, let us give her away!" The fool then pronounced the benediction, but because of fright or inability, instead of "*Om svasti*", he produced something which sounded like "*u-sa-ta-ra*". Immediately, Vararuchi interpreted the fool's words and composed a beautiful sloka.

"Rudra with Umā, Śaṅkara with Viṣṇu,
And Śiva holding the whizzing dart,
Protect constantly!"³

1. The story of Rājā Bhīmśukla of Vārāṇasī and his daughter Vāsantī is told by Tāranātha in his *rGya-gar-chos-'byuñ*, Lha-sa edition, fol. 40a; Schiefner "*Geschicht. d. Buddhismus in Indian*, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 76.

2. mChog-sred.

3. Our text gives the śloka in Sanskrit: *Umayā sahito Rudraḥ Śi-ka-raṇ* (read: Śaṅkara) *saha Viṣṇuṇā taṁ-khaṭvāṅgaśūlpāṇi rakṣantu Śivāḥ sadā*. Tāranātha in his *rGya-gar-chos-'byuñ*, fol. 40a, gives a slightly different, but more correct version of the same śloka; *Umayā sahito Rudraḥ Śaṅkaraḥ saha Viṣṇuṇā Taṅkakhavāṅgaṇiścha rakṣatāt sarvadā Śivāḥ*.

Vararuchi called this composition the "Necklace of Sarasvatī",¹ and said that it was composed by this great Paṇḍita. The Rājā and his daughter then paid homage to him. Having given the Rājā's daughter to the fool, they held the marriage ceremony. Vararuchi then fled away. It would have been against the Rājā's law to leave the fool after having married him. The Rājā's daughter did not like him and began to hate him. The fool was greatly afflicted by this, and went to pray before the image of the Kālī-Devī, supplicating the goddess to destroy him. After the lapse of two days, the Rājā's daughter thought, "If the fool were to die, it would not be good," and sent her maid servants with some food and betel-nuts.² The maid servants contemptuously spat some betel chewed by them into the fool's mouth. (Observing this), the goddess thought, "Even maid servants despise him ! I should bestow on him a magic spell !"³ The goddess slapped the cheek of one of the maids, and asked the fool, "What sort of magic spell would you like (to possess) ?" The fool replied that he would like to become learned in Sanskrit Grammar, and immediately he was transformed into a learned man. With his right hand he took the rough stalk of a lotus which was similar to that of a rose, and with his left hand the soft stalk of the blue lotus.⁴ Then standing in front of the door of the daughter's apartment, he sent the following message through a maid,

"In my right hand (I have) a lotus,

In my left an *utpala* flower,

Which do you prefer,

The one with the soft stalk, or that with the rough stalk ?

Tell (me), O lotus-eyed ?"

The Rājā's daughter observed, "The Śloka is good poetry ! He must have propitiated the goddess !" and continued to live with the fool. Thus having propitiated the goddess Kālī, he became a scholar known as Kālidāsa, or the "Servant of Kālī."⁵ Among

1. dbYañs-can-gyi-mgul-rgyañ.,

2. go-la, Hind. golā. Cf. Hind. supārī.

3. dños-grub, siddhi.

4. *Utpala*.

5. Nag-mo'i-khol-pe.

the grammatical treatises composed by him, there was one called *Ka-li-pa vyākaraṇa*. The Dharmasvāmin said that in Tibetan the word *vyākaraṇa* meant a "prophecy",¹ also "grammar",² or "exposition".³ Even nowadays there exist in India several versions of this treatise,⁴ but according to the Dharmasvāmin, the grammatical treatise composed by Chandragomin had a greater vogue.

The Dharmasvāmin said that "Nāropa's hermitage⁵ (siddhasthāna) Phulahari was situated in a forest north of Nālandā, a tumbled down straw hut with three crooked doors, surrounded by numerous huts, without an encircling wall, and that even now some people used to stay there".

The great cemetery Śītavana⁶ is situated in a treeless clearing inside a large forest to the north-west of Nālandā. In this forest there were numerous venomous snakes with spotted bodies and black heads, of the size of a man's thigh. The tops of thickets (in the forest) used to shake and emit a cracking noise when these snakes moved about. The Dharmasvāmin said that he was frightened on seeing a black bear.⁷

On one occasion the Guru, having wrapped his alms bowl in a piece of cloth, decided to ford a river, instead of taking a longer circuitous route. He was carried away by the current towards the opposite bank but noticed a man of dark complexion standing on the bank and shouted to him "Save me from the river!" The man shouted back, "I am of low caste", and did not help him. The Dharmasvāmin said that it was improper for a man of low caste to touch with his hands a person of high caste. If a person of low caste were to look at a person of high caste eating, then the food had to be thrown away. A sign of low caste was the absence of perforation (hole) in the ears. Others had holes in their ears. If a person of low caste approach-

1. luñ-ston-pa.
2. brda-sprod-pa.
3. gsal-bar-byed-pa.
4. ñan-bśad,
5. sgrub-gnas.
6. bSil-ba'-tshal.
7. dom-nag.

ed the place where one was taking one's food, that person had to say, "Dūraṃ gaccha" i.e. "go away?"¹

The seventh chapter relating the Dharmasvāmin's visit to the blessed non-Buddhist images at Vajrāsana and Nālandā.²

1. pha-gir soñ.

2. This is not quite a correct description of the chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

VISIT TO GṚIDHRAKŪṬA

In general, one can say, that in India the non-Buddhists were numerous, the Śrāvakas were fewer, and the followers of the Mahāyāna even fewer. The Indian followers of the Hīnayāna¹ are distinguished by greater kindness² than the Tibetan followers of the Mahāyāna. When on an alms begging round, the non-Buddhists consider it their duty to give alms to (Buddhist monks). Simple people, other than non-Buddhists, have a great faith, and whenever they meet a monk, they prostrate themselves with the words, "Rāhula he vandhanam"³ (should read, He Rāhula vandanam), i.e. "Salutation to the Master."³ They do not walk straight in front of holy images or the house of parents. A red cloth they call a saffron garment.⁴ Because it is the garb of a mendicant⁵ (*prabrājika*), when they find a piece of four inches on the road, even children pick it up.

The Dharmasvāmin said that there were 1512 villages in Magadha. The Gṛidhrakūtaparvata, or the Vulture peak⁶ was not high. In general, there were no mountains in India (i.e. Magadha) and in Tibet the Vulture Peak would be considered a hill of middling height. The Vulture Peak was circular in shape and was surrounded on all sides by forest. From some of the gullies⁷ water was flowing down. Some (of the gullies) were rocky, the abode of numerous carnivorous animals, such as tiger, black bear and the brown bear, so that ordinary men did not dare to penetrate (into the forest), and only some Paṇḍitas, who had obtained *siddhis*, dwelt there unharmed by poisonous snakes and carnivorous animals. In the summer the peak was overgrown by shrubs and grass, and its colour appeared blue.

1. Theg-chuñ-ba.
2. phan sems.
3. Jo-bo-la phyag-'tshal-lo.
4. gos hur-smrig.
5. rab-tu byuñ-ba,
6. Bya-rgod-phuñ-pei-ri.
7. ri-śul.

In the winter, when the grass had withered away, the colour of the mountain appeared to be grey. There were many kinds of birds and trees on the mountain. There the Dharmasvāmin¹ Chag lo-tsā-ba distributed alms to a multitude of people among whom some were carrying bows and arrows. In order to frighten away the wild animals, some beat drums, many were carrying conches, cymbals² and trumpets.³ Some came carrying bunches of fresh bamboos which emitted great sparks. Even nowadays, it is said that on the summit of the peak, in a pleasant and fragrant place, stands the seat from which the Buddha had formerly preached the Doctrine. There were also the ruins of a building, pieces of bricks of the size of the hand and some larger ones were scattered about. The Peak's summit was treeless and was overgrown with soft grass. On the summit there was a Stūpa built of bricks with terraced steps,⁴ each size of which had $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms.⁵ The dome (lit. vase)⁶ of the stūpa was bigger than that of the bzod-pa-brag (Stūpa) of Thaṅ-po-che (in Yar-luṅ). The Dharmasvāmin said that in front of the Stūpa was situated the blessed spot on which the Blessed One (Bhagavān) had preached the Doctrine. For three years a Siddha lived in a hole in the Stūpa's foundation, unharmed by wild animals and snakes, and all venerated him.

The Eighth chapter relating the Dharmasvāmin Chag lo-tsā-ba's visit to the Vulture Peak.

1. Chos-rje.
2. cha-lan.
3. 'bud-krol.
4. bañ-rims.
5. 'dom.
6. bum-pa. Skt. *garbha*.

CHAPTER IX

VISIT TO RĀJAGRĪHA

Rājagriha : Formerly, demons¹ used to set fire to the houses of the inhabitants. The Rājā having heard of it, issued a proclamation that all should increase the number of night-watchers, and those whose houses will be set on fire, will have to rebuild new ones in the forest. Then (one night) the Rājā's palace was set on fire. While the Rājā was building during the day time, Devas and Asuras destroyed it during the night. The Rājā then wrote the words "The Rājā's House"² on the lintel,³ and the frightened demons did not dare to destroy it again. From that time the place became known as Rājagriha. In ancient times the town had eight hundred houses. Nowadays it has only six hundred. Some four hundred houses were built of bricks. To the North of Rājagriha there was a hot spring. To the South lay a mountain stretching from East to West. Below the town of Rājagriha, on the fringe of a marshy ground lay the Veluvana grove⁴ whose trees had a more vivid green colour than those (of other groves). On the western slope of the summit of the mountain there was a path which followed an unaccentuated stretch of the slope. By following it, one reached the Vulture Peak, which lay to the south of a small hill. The Dharmasvāmin said that the distance between the town of Rājagriha and the Vulture Peak was about three Yojanas.⁵ The Dharmasvāmin said that he had studied many doctrines with the Mahā-paṇḍita Yaśomitra at Rājagriha.

The Ninth chapter relating to the visit to Rājagriha.

1. *Amanushya*, mi-ma-yin.
2. rGyal-po'i-khab.
3. ya-thems.
4. O-ma'i-tshal.
5. phag-tshad.

CHAPTER X

STAY AT NĀLANDĀ

Nālandra,¹ which means "Lord of Men" in Tibetan,² was built by a former Rājā, and because of it was given this name. It was situated on the further bank of the Gaṅgā at a distance of about two days to the south-west (mistake for south-east) of Vajrāsana. As said in the Ratnāvalī,³ in the passage beginning with the words "the religious establishment of a former king...", it had seven great (lofty) pinnacles⁴ in its centre, two of which had been erected by the Rājā and two by two great Āchāryas, one each. On the outside, towards the North, stood fourteen lofty pinnacles (Śikharas). Outside of it, there were about eighty small Vihāras called a-ri-kha.⁵ Most of these were built by the Rājā. Some were built by the queen. They were damaged by the Turushkas, and there was absolutely no one to look after them, or to make offerings. They were built of bricks and many were left undamaged.

There resided a venerable and learned monk who was more than ninety years old, the Guru and Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula-śrībhadra.⁶ Rājā Buddhasena of Magadha honoured this Guru and four other Paṇḍitas, and about seventy venerable ones.⁷ Jayadeva,⁸ a rich man, erected a seat adorned with precious stones which had a curtain called *sa-ha-li*⁹ which protected from mosquitoes.¹⁰ Curtains were also drawn on the four sides of the throne. Inside, a fan¹¹ and offering lamps used to keep mosquitoes away, and the Guru was able to rest having drawn the

1. Nālandā.
2. Mi'i-dbañ-po.
3. Nin-chen-'phreñ-ba.
4. dbu-rtse, *śikharā*.
5. This is ārāmika (?), a diminutive of ārāma.
6. dPal sGra-gcan-'dzin-bzañ-ro.
7. ban-de.
8. rGyal-ba'i-lha.
9. cf. Hindi *masahri*, mosquito curtain.
10. sbrañ-skyabs, *maśakavāraṇa*.
11. rluñ-yab.

curtains. The Dharmasvāmin said that most of the wealthy people were obliged to honour in a similar manner. The Dharmasvāmin also said that the two Vihāras called Dha-na-ba¹ and Ghu-na-ba² were in a serviceable condition. In general, among the eighty four Vihāras, there were eighty four human dwellings (monastic cells).³

There were also four especially venerated holy images,⁴ the stone image of the Lord Khasarpaṇa, Mañjuśrī, "With the turned neck", the miraculous stone image of Jñānañātha,⁵ and the image of Tārā "Without ornaments".⁶ The image of Khasarpaṇa (Avalokiteśvara) stood in the royal Vihāra. It was said that when the Āchārya Ārya Chandrakīrti and the Āchārya Chandragomin were debating, Chandragomin was unable to give an immediate answer, and only gave the answer after some time had passed. Once when the Āchārya Chandrakīrti was putting questions on the Doctrine, Chandragomin having answered, acted in the manner of one wishing to pass water, and having taken a vessel,⁷ went out. The Dharmasvāmin said that, according to the story, when the Āchārya Chandrakīrti went out to see (where Chandragomin had gone), he saw the stone image of Khasarpaṇa, whose right hand was in the *dānamudrā*,⁸ raise its finger as if in a *prāsaṅgika* debate. The image remained in the posture of preaching the Doctrine to Chandragomin. Even nowadays, the image, of human size, is seen with a raised finger.⁹ The Āchārya Chandrakīrti, without showing partiality, requested to be given instruction in the Doctrine. To this the image replied, "For five hundred rebirths you had been reborn as a Paṇḍita blessed by Mañjughoṣha. I shall not expound (the Doctrine) to you. Meditate on the Guhyasamāja?" Then he meditated for seven days on the Guhyasamāja, and he

1. Dhānya (?)
2. guṇa (?)
3. mi-khyim.
4. rten.
5. Ye-śes-mgon-po.
6. rgyan-med.
7. spyi-gluga.
8. mchod-sbyin.
9. mdzub-mo-ke-re.

perceived Avalokiteśvara of white colour standing erect in the West. The Dharmasvāmin added that though the image was called of "white countenance", it was said to have been red. When the Āchārya Chandrakīrti was going out to meet Chandragomin, the image of Mañjuśrī "With the neck bent towards the left",² was placed on a chariot, and Chandragomin was invited to sit on another, but he declined, saying, "It does not befit me to ride on a chariot to the Vihāra of the Saṅgha". They earnestly entreated him, and Chandragomin then said, "Well then, I shall stand at the back of Mañjughosha's chariot as if fanning the image of Mañjughosha!" and he did so. At a distance of about a Yojana to the west of Nālandā, when the procession was moving towards the south, Chandragomin (suddenly) perceived the image to come to life. He called out to men, "Look, look!" But the vision vanished, and he understood it to be a material (image), and so it remained, and even nowadays its neck is bent towards the left. The Dharmasvāmin added that when one prays to this wooden image, of the size of a man, and the notion arises that it is a real Buddha, then the image truly expounds the Doctrine, etc. But if one thought that it was a material thing, a fashioned image, then the blessing decreased. Its nature, according to the *avavāda* (instructions) of Atīśa, when one beholds sacred images, they have to be considered to be the very Tathāgata, because they were blessed.

The image known as Tāratha,³ or the Tārā "Without ornaments". Once, when the Āchārya Chandragomin, being a Bodhisattva, had given away all he had collected on his begging rounds, at a time when he had nothing to give away, there came from South India a group of singers and dancers⁴ who for half a month entertained (the Paṇḍitas) with singing, music and dancing. When they asked for money, he gave them a piece of cloth which he used as a garment, but they did not

1. dKar-po'gzigs.

2. Mañjughosha-grīvā-bhaṅga; 'Jara-dbyaṅs-mjiñ-gyon.

3. Pandit Rahul Sāṅkṛityāyan suggests Tāriṇikā.

4. zlos-gar-mkhan.

accept it, and he (Chandragomin) thought, "What should give them?" He offered prayers to an image of Tārā which was painted on the wall of the eastern side of the Vihāra, and the image uttered the following words, "Give these!" and with her left hand she took off some rings from her right hand, and gave them to Chandragomin. She then gave away with her both hands her shoulder ornaments, and a whistling sound was clearly heard. The Paṇḍita¹ (of Nālandā) inquired, "From where so many (ornaments) had come?" and having investigated (the matter) found that on the image of the goddess there were left only traces of ornaments on her fingers and shoulders and thus the image became known as the Tārā "Without ornaments".¹ When one looks at the western gate of the temple of Nālandā, on the inside surface of the eastern wall, directly in front of the feet (of the image), there is the spot which Chandragomin touched with his head when he asked for the goddess's blessing. Oil drips from it and when the black spot sinks into the ground, a trace of it always remains. This auspicious sign can be seen even nowadays.

Jñānanātha² temple : When an officer of the Turushka soldiery took up residence in the Vihāra of Odantapurī, situated at a distance of a day's march to the east of Nālandā, he summoned into his presence Guru Rāhulaśrībhadra's lay-supporter³ Jayadeva and a member of the latter's family. For several days they did not return. Then a traveller came and brought a message from Jayadeva which said, "The Brāhmaṇa lay-supporter wishes to tell the Guru and disciples, that he had been detained by the officer who said that he, (Jayadeva), had honoured numerous monks⁴ attending on the Guru. Now they shall surely kill the Guru and his disciples. Flee!" Having been advised to flee, the Guru said, "You flee! I am more than ninety years old. It does not make any difference whether I shall escape, or not, whether I shall go, or not." On receipt of the Brāhmaṇa's mes-

1. sGrol-ma-rgyan-med.

2. Ye-śes-mgon-po.

3. yon-bdag.

4. The text had mgo-zlum, or "round heads", i. e. shaven heads, a derogatory expression meaning "monks". Cf. modern Tibetan mgo-ril-ril.

sage, they again asked the Guru, but he gave the same reply. Since many similar messages were received, all other disciples fled away. Only the Dharmasvāmin-lo-tsā-ba remained with the Guru, and in his turn requested the Guru to go. The Guru said, "You, Tibetan, it is foolish of you to stay with me ! All the inhabitants and disciples have fled. If you do not flee, you will be killed !" and the Guru rebuked him. The Dharmasvāmin replied, "I shall not go, even if killed !" The Guru became pleased and said, "You are keeping your vow and great is your burden. Now, if I were to be carried by you, would you go ? If you go, we shall both flee !" The Dharmasvāmin took the Guru on his shoulders, and turning round one of the pillars, the Guru said, "We are off, let us take a small basket of sugar,¹ some rice, and our favourite books. We shall not be able to go far. I have a way (of saving ourselves) !" At a short distance to the south-west, there was a shrine dedicated to a protecting deity,² and they went to that place. The Guru said, "This Jñānanātha had miraculously appeared on a stone in the cemetery of Śītavana,³ and was discovered by Ārya-Nāgārjuna, who had invited the image to stay in this shrine." Formerly, the Turushkas had carried away all the stones of this (temple), and instead of anointing the image with oil and worshipping it, they threw impurities and dust at it. A man who participated in this work) died the same evening of colic on reaching Odantapurī. Next morning the image was found undamaged, so it was said. Since then the Turushka-heretics did not dare to approach it and cross the threshold.

While they were staying there, suddenly some three hundred Turushka soldiers appeared, armed and ready for battle. Though they were sure to kill them, they did not find them, and went back. The two lay-supporters (of the Guru) were put in irons for several days, but then were set free.

The Dharmasvāmin said that the image of the Protector⁴

1. bu-ram.

2. mgon-khañ.

3. bSil-ba'i-tshal.

4. mGon-po, Nātha.

had one face and four arms, and was somewhat bigger than a man in size. People used to anoint it with oil. It was of greenish colour. When people used to ask for blessing by touching the navel of the image with their foreheads, the stone appeared (to them) to have the colour of pea straw.¹

When the Dharmasvāmin first visited Guru Rāhula, he thought that, "There was no one more learned in Grammar than me in Magadha."² It turned out that there were several young disciples studying Grammar with the Guru, and all of them were more learned than me. The Paṇḍita himself having gone to Magadha, it occurred to me that it would be good to meet (him)", said the Dharmasvāmin. Then the Mahā-panḍita preached the bLa-ma lNa-bcu-pa (Gurupañchāśikā, Tg.—rGyud, 3721). The Dharmasvāmin thought, "I knew it, having learnt it by heart. Now there is no need to study it". The Guru Mahā-panḍita said, "Go and study the Sanskrit commentary until you master it." The Dharmasvāmin studied it, and it was of benefit to the understanding of the meaning (of the text). Especially there were some (passages) which merited to be studied.

At the approach of summer, the Guru said, "You should go to Nepāla. Here you will die of fever. There was another Tibetan who had come to study. He died last year. You had formerly studied extensively the Doctrine ; if an accident were to happen to your life, it would be a loss. In any case you should go !" Friends also advised him to go. Then the Dharmasvāmin thought, "Having gone for the summer to Nepāla, when returning in winter to Magadha, I shall have to cross the Ganga ("the difficulty of crossing the Ganga is enough to die. "). Here I have to study !" The Dharmasvāmin accordingly said to the Guru, "Even if I am to die, please allow me to study here !" And the Dharmasvāmin remained. In the summer, on one occasion his body became covered with three hundred sores, and he was in great agony. The Guru said, "You are very fortunate !"

1. spran-zan.

2. dbUs-'gyur-'chañ explained in native dictionaries as meaning rDo-rje gdan rGya-gar-Yul-dbUs.

and was very pleased. The Dharmasvāmin thought, "Why is it that the Guru is so pleased by my being so ill?" The Guru said, "Your disease, caused by water,¹ did not go inside, but came out. Sores are no danger to life. You will not die!" and the Guru rejoiced. At that time, said the Dharmasvāmin, because he did not have even a mat, a severe pain afflicted him, and later his health deteriorated. The Dharmasvāmin added, that occasionally he did not even have shoes, as worn by Indians, which consist of a wooden or leather sole attached above the foot by a shoe-strap, without side-pieces and leggings, which are called *pa-ni-hi* (*upānah*).

In one locality many non-Buddhists had assembled to make offerings; they placed numerous cattle on a large pyre of wood and lit it. After the fire had consumed the carcasses, they made in the smouldering fire, at the end of the pile of carcasses, a circular *maṇḍala*, a triangular *maṇḍala*, a square *maṇḍala*, etc., and muttered *mantras*. This method of sacrifice is not the way of attaining emancipation, though it is claimed to be one. For it is said, "All kinds of injury, the absence of a method³ (of salvation), the path of damnation,⁴ and the belief in a real personality,⁵ are (considered) to be highly efficacious by those who take refuge in the heretical path."⁶ "Such is the heretical teaching of those who do not know the method (of true salvation). If one takes refuge in the Three Precious Ones,⁷ there is no need of placing one's hope in such doctrines", said the Dharmasvāmin.

The Dharmasvāmin said that in India and Nepāla there exists a green plant with a single root, the leaves of which are spread out on the ground. (The leaves) should not be damaged by the hooves of goats and cattle, for if one (of the leaves) is damaged, all the others wither away, as in the case of a group of friends,

1. chu-nad.

2. pantri.

3. Thabs, upāya.

4. nan-soñ.

5. 'jig-tshogs-lta-ba, satkāya-ṛishti.

6. Here Theg-pa-dman-pa is used not in the sense of the Śrāvaka-yāna, but in the sense of a heretical doctrine.

7. dKon-mchog-gsum, Triratna.

if one becomes mischievous, similar to a rotten 'go-la',¹ the others also become wicked. Having cut off with a knife the rotten part of the leaf, they put some ashes of burnt cowries on it, this being a substitute for yeast. Then they perfume it with scent, and cover it for two days with a cloth. Then they take the cloth off, and call it *pa-na*.² In Tibet this drink is called *tam-bo-la*³ in the literary language, and *go-la* in the spoken language, and also in Nepālī.⁴ In Tibetan it is called *so-rtsi*, or tooth-paint. The Dharmasvāmin added that its colour was red, and that 'it was good for the teeth, and therefore it was called *so-rtsi*, or tooth-paint.

The sour juice of the Nepālese pomegranate⁵ is used as a drink by the Buddhist monks, and is called *da-ri-ba*.⁶ In India (i.e. in Magadha) the Buddhist monks do not partake of wine.

Having completed his studies at Nālandā, the Dharmasvāmin asked the Guru for permission to return to Tibet, but the Guru did not grant it. Then after the lapse of one month, the Guru said, "You have mastered many doctrines. There will be benefit for sentient beings. You should go to Tibet!" The Dharmasvāmin then asked leave to go, but the Guru replied "Stay for today!" "As you are starting to-morrow, to-night you should reach the ferry. Stay there in the early morning," said the Guru. Next morning having spent the night there, the Guru told him, "Now you should go!" and saw him off in a dandy.⁷ The Guru said, "You are a good monk! Go to Tibet!" and shed tears. "I am old, said the Guru, and Tibet is far away! and we shall not meet in this life. We shall meet in Sukhavatī. The Dharmasvāmin continued his journey. The Dharmasvāmin said that he greatly venerated this Guru. The Dharmasvāmin Chag lo-tsā-ba spent two full years in Magadha.

The Tenth Chapter on Nālandā.

1. Called *golā* in the U. P. because of its circular shape.
2. pān, betel leaf.
3. tāmbola, betel leaf.
4. Bal-po'i-skad.
5. se'u.
6. Cf. Hind. dārim.
7. mdo-li mdo-le; from Hindi. *dolī*.

CHAPTER XI

RETURN TO TIRHUT

The Dharmasvāmin continued his journey alone without a companion. On the ferry boat across the Gaṅgā, he was accosted by two Turushka soldiers who told him, "You are a Tibetan ! You must have some gold." The Dharmasvāmin replied that he would report them to the local Rājā, and they became very angry. The two snatched away the Dharmasvāmin's begging bowl¹ from the boat. On the boat there were two Indian lay-supporters, father and son. The son who had faith (in Buddhism), said, "Here is a remarkable monk ! Do not take away his begging bowl. I shall give you some precious things." But the soldiers replied, "We do not want your wealth. We want this Tibetan !" Then he gave them one *pa-ṇa*². According to the Dharmasvāmin one *paṇa* equalled eighty cowries.³

After they had reached the city of Pa-ta (Pattalā) in Tirhut, the Dharmasvāmin asked a monk, "Are you a Buddhist ?" and the monk replied that he was. Then the Dharmasvāmin rented quarters from the monk, and stayed there. He fell ill, and felt pain in his legs as if he was being hatched by an axe. The owner of the house enquired about his health, and the Dharmasvāmin replied that he was not feeling well. The owner of the house used to tell him each day, "The Magadha fever has come out. Nothing will help. You will die. Do not stay here, go to the cremation ground." "His fever grew worse, and he had neither provisions to keep himself alive, nor anyone to look after him. The owner of the house continued to tell him to go away. He had neither acquaintances, nor any one to invite him to come. He felt greatly afflicted by the thought of dying there. At that time he was in possession of an extraordinary manuscript⁴

1. lhuñ-bzed.

2. Skt. *paṇa*.

3. 'gren-bu.

4. man-ñag.

which could cause harm. Full of apprehension, he wished to burn it, but the owner of the house stole the book. His eyes grew dim, and his pillow seemed to him to be something black. Then there came a Tantric¹ who asked him, "You are ill !" "I am not well", replied the Dharmasvāmin. "Who are you ?" asked the Tantrik, "I am a Tibetan", replied the Dharmasvāmin. "From what part of Tibet, do you come from ?" "I am a native of Ü", replied the Dharmasvāmin. The Tantric again persisted in his questions, and asked, "From what part of Ü do you come from ?" "I belong to lTe'u-'ra of gÑal. I had come to Vajrāsana to study the Doctrine, and am returning to Tibet. Having fallen ill, I remained behind." The Tantric said, "Are you not the nephew of Chag lo-tsā-ba dGra-bcom who had come to India last year ?" "I am.", replied the Dharmasvāmin. The latter then said, "I went to lTe'u-ra as an attendant of Paṇḍita Śākyaśrī who came to Tibet. The former Phyag (Chag) lo-tsā-ba took great care of me. If you need money I have some money, and shall help you. It is nothing ! I have come to India with a purpose ! I know how to recite the rDo-rje rnam-'joms² and the gTsugtor.³ I am ready to serve you." The Dharmasvāmin was pleased and said, "Well do it !" The Dharmasvāmin said that "The Tantric treated me, and after having been ill for about two months, I did not die." The Dharmasvāmin also said, "Though I persevered in India and Nepāla, I was struck by a severe and poisonous local fever, but a (fatal) accident to my life did not occur by the grace of (his uncle) the great Upādhyāya, the Dharmasvāmin." And again he said, "Though I had propitiated the Protecting Deity, I was struck by severe illness due to (my) former deeds. Looked after by a friend, the composite elements of this life did not cease. This also was due to the grace of the Upādhyāya, the Dharmasvāmin." The Dharmasvāmin said, that the Tantric appears to have been a manifestation of the Four-Armed⁴ Protector.⁵

1. snags-pa.

2. name of a Tantric rite (cho-ga).

3. There exist several gtsug-tor cho-ga in the besTan-'gyur.

4. Phyag-bshi-pa

5. Avalokiteśvara.

Then when he had recovered from his illness, but his body was not as straight as before (i.e. he was walking with difficulty), he was told that the Rājā of the Pata (Pattalā) city was coming to the street-corner.¹ The Rājā was accompanied by a crowd of drummers and dancers with banners, buntings,² brandishing fans,³ and sounding conches and various musical instruments. All the house-tops and street-corners were overhung with silk-trappings. The Rājā named Rāmasimha was coming riding, on a she-elephant, sitting on a throne adorned with precious stones, and furnished with an ornamented curtain. The Dharmasvāmin received an invitation from the minister, who said, "Please come! If you do not come in person, the Rājā will punish (you). The Rājā comes to the street-corner (town-place) only once in a year, and there is a pageant." The minister sent a sedan-chair⁴ (*doli*) for the Dharmasvāmin, who went to meet the Rājā. The Dharmasvāmin greeted the Rājā in Sanskrit ślokas and the Rājā was very much pleased and presented the Dharmasvāmin with some gold, a roll of cloth,⁵ numerous medicines, rice, and many excellent offerings⁶ and requested the Dharmasvāmin to become his chaplain,⁷ but the Dharmasvāmin replied that it was improper for him, a Buddhist, to become the Guru of a non-Buddhist. The Rājā accepted it, and said, "Well, stay here for some days!" The Dharmasvāmin said that the Rājā honoured him with numerous requisites.

The eleventh chapter relating to the Dharmasvāmin's visit to Tirhut on (his) way back (to Tibet).

1. srañ-mdor.

2. phye-ma'i phur-ma.

3. bsil-ab.

4. mdo-li.

5. ras-yug

6. yon

7. bla-mchod.

CHAPTER XII

STAY AT YAN-DOG MONASTERY IN TIBET

Among the large gathering of people in the town of Pa-ta (Pattalā) in Tirthut, the Dharmasvāmin met with some Nepālese whom he had met previously, and who recognized him. The people said, "With such an emaciated body, you seem about to die!" and wept. The Dharmasvāmin replied, "I almost died! One day I passed out, but was restored to life." The 'ba'-ros¹ honoured him and provided him with a sedan-chair, and he proceeded to Nepāla. In Nepāla wealthy people are called 'ba'-ro, and monks are called ha-sa-si.² Tantriks are called hañ-du,³ said the Dharmasvāmin. The Dharmasvāmin also said that when he came to Nepāla, the 'ba'-ros gave him plenty of tasty food without regard to his health, and that as a result of it, phlegm⁴ increased. In Nepāla, a 'ba'-ro named Ban-dhe⁵ Sa-le presented him with five ounces of gold, and the Dharmasvāmin was enabled to prepare numerous copies of sacred books and images. Then the Dharmasvāmin received an invitation to visit the monastery of Yan-dog, the former seat⁶ of the lo-tsā-ba Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba in Guñ-than of Mañ-yul. The Dharmasvāmin replied, "I am unable to stay at the monastery because I have to look after the abbot's seat of the former lo-tsā-ba upādhyāya at lTe'u-ra of gÑal. I won't be able to help the monastery for one or two years." But they entreated him, saying, "Please visit the monastery, even if you are unable to stay there for more than a year." The guru Ri-wan-dra (Ravindra), endowed with fore-knowledge, told him, "It would be good if you were to go to Yan-dog for four or five years. Since there is no hurry, you could proceed (to lTe'u-ra)

1. 'ba'-ro from *Varisṭha*.

2. According to R. Sāṅkṛityāyana, so called after a siddha named Hāsavajra flāsavajra.

3. hañ-du a personal name (?)

4. bod-ken.

5. ban-de

6. gdan-sa.

later, and benefit will arise for sentient beings." Following this advice, the Dharmasvāmin decided to visit Yañ-dog. When he came to Yañ-dog from Nepāla, one day they offered him the keys of eighty monasteries, including the main monastery of Ha-ri-mān-da, its four branches and others. The lay-supporter¹ Phyug bTsan-grags offered him a golden vase.² The lay-supporter dKon-mchog-rten offered him the *Pañchaviṃśatisāhasrikā* written in gold. In general, he received on four occasions the *Pañchaviṃśatisāhasrikā* written in gold, on two occasions the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā*⁴ (written in gold), and about one hundred and fifty volumes of Sūtras written in ink. Previously he had received two lots of (books) of thirty two and sixteen volumes each. The Dharmasvāmin said that in Sanskrit a book was called *pustaka*, and *pothi* in Prākṛit, in Tibetan glegs-'bam. Though written in ink it was still a sacred volume, or glegs-'bam. Again on another occasion the Dharmasvāmin received two hundred volumes of books. When the Dharmasvāmin was going from Yañ-dog to Ü, the lay-supporter Phyug bTsan-grags (The "Wealthy" bTsan-grags) said, "It is not good to leave the golden vase at Yañ-dog; pray take it with you wherever you might go!" and himself packed it in leather,⁵ and sent it off ahead. (The lay-supporter) dKon-mchog-rten escorted the *Pañchaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (written in gold) for the distance of four daily stages, and both the vase and the *Pañchaviṃśatisāhasrikā* were taken to lTe-'u-ra. The two lay-supporters had no offspring; after (their meeting with the Dharmasvāmin) three children were born to them, and the number of family members and wealth increased, and they lived in prosperity. When the Dharmasvāmin was staying in Nepāla, the Dharmasvāmin Sa-skya Paṇḍita requested him to send him the bDud-rtsi thigs-pa (Tg. bGyud, LXXV, I) a commentary on the *Nāmasaṅgiti*.⁶ The Dharmasvāmin sent him the Indian original of the text.⁷ Then the Sa-skya Paṇḍita

1. yon-'bdag-po

2. gser-'bum.

3. Ni-khrū

4. brGyad-sto-pa.

5. ko-gvum

6. mT'kan-b'jod.

7. rGyud-dpe.

again asked the Dharmasvāmin to send him the Tibetan translation prepared by the Dharmasvāmin. When it was sent, the Sa-skyā Paṇḍita looked through it and became very pleased. Later when they met at Sa-skyā and discussed (the text), the Dharmasvāmin Sa-skyā-pa¹ said, "Surely after the lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen bzañ-po there was no scholar greater than you ! When I also thought of becoming a scholar like you, my father and grand-father did not allow me to go to India. As a result of which their grace diminished. At the best they did not make me abandon religion and wealth, at the worst they did not send (me) to India." Later, in Mongolia the Sa-skyā Paṇḍita is reported to have said, "Chag lo-tsā-ba is himself a scholar. If you wish to study, meet him !" The Dharmasvāmin said that when he was preaching the Doctrine at Yañ-dog, about ten *kalyāṇa-mitras*, disciples of the bLa-maSa-skyā-pa, benefitted greatly.

The twelfth chapter about the stay of the Dharmasvāmin at Yañ-Dog in Mañ-yul.

1. Sa-skyā paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, 1182-1251.

CHAPTER XIII

RESIDENCE AT ITE-U-RA MONASTERY IN TIBET

When the Dharmasvāmin was invited by the inmates of ITe'u-ra and was starting from Yan-dog, they loaded his baggage, such as the golden vase, the *Pañchaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, and Indian and Tibetan books, etc. on numerous domestic yaks (mdzo). Some people are said to have failed to honour (him) and to have remarked that "There were not many books, and that most (of the loads) contained dried¹ and raw sugar".² At that time the owner of a water-mill made offerings of requisites. Well-to-do-people attended on him ("placed the dust of his feet on their heads"), and the road leading to ITe'u-ra of gÑal was crowded with men and horses.³ The sky was filled with rainbows and silk scarfs. Those who were walking (on the road) said that it was an auspicious year full of peace. The Āchārya of ITe'u-ra said that in his youth the Dharmasvāmin had told that he had a vision of the deity, and that he did not believe him at that time, and thought that it signified an accident to his life, and that he would not return from India. Now, though they did not see him for twenty-four years, he was returning unharmed, and it was said that others were filled with faith and devotion.

The Dharmasvāmin's fame as a scholar and venerable monk encompassed the ten quarters. From Mongolia he received an invitation from the Dharmarāja 'Phags-pa⁴ and Khan Khubilai.⁵ The Dharmasvāmin was on numerous occasions visited by Imperial envoys,⁶ including the Āchārya Śig-śa-ta and others who honoured him and conveyed an invitation to visit Mongolia, but as he was predestined to labour for the benefit of numerous sentient beings (in Tibet), the Dharmasvāmin remained at ITe'u-ra.

1. tshos.

2. bu-ram.

3. mi-che-rgu-cog.

4. 'Phags-pa' bLo-gro' rgyal-mtshan, 1235-1280.

5. In the text rgyal-po Lo-go sa-bdag Go-pe-la.

6. gser-yig-pa.

After some fourteen and half years had elapsed since his return from India, in the year of the Dragon¹ (1256 A. D.) there came Si-tu A-skyid,² the officials 'Jur-na and Ab-rkan,³ and others, and invited him to Mongolia. The Dharmasvāmin proceeded in a sedan-chair as far as Northern sñiñ-'bum. At that time he suffered from pain in his legs.⁴ In the year of the Hare⁴ (1255 A. D.) a great earthquake took place and many houses collapsed. Because of this, the Dharmasvāmin was unable to stay at his residence.⁵ Eye-witnesses used to say that religious protectors had placed iron-fetters on his legs⁶, and thus prevented him from going to Mongolia. Mongol and Tibetan dignitaries deliberated, saying that if Mongol and Tibetan learned men were to die on the road, it would not be good; if all Tibetan and Mongol dignitaries summoned by the official Śes-rab-skyabs were to die on the road, the Great Khan would not be pleased; if the Dharmasvāmin were to stay in Tibet, great benefit would arise for sentient beings. They therefore requested the Dharmasvāmin to remain in Tibet.

At that time the Dharmasvāmin addressed an epistle⁷ on the Doctrine to the twelve great Paṇḍitas invited by the official Śes-rab-skyabs, to the four lo-tsā-bas of Tibet, and to twenty learned monks. Again, the Dharmasvāmin returned to gñal.

Some two years after his return to gñal from India, the Dharmasvāmin proceeded on a pilgrimage to Śākyamuni of 'Phrul-snañ (temple in Lha-sa), and on his way visited sTag-tshal of Yar-luñ to meet the Paṇḍita Dānaśrī, and asked him

1. 'brug-lo.

2. An official in charge of census in the area between Sha-lu and 'Bri-guñ. See Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 13. The census (Tib. rtsis-len) determined the number of troops to be supplied by districts. The census was introduced by the Mongols in other parts of the empire as well. Cf. the Russian *brati shislo* (to take census) corresponding exactly to the Tibetan expression rtsis-len and the Mongol tog-ā abqu. On census in the Mongol epoch, See Vernadsky, *The Mongols in Russia*, Yale, 1953, p. 215. *The Secret History of the Mongols*, p. 265—shini ta toulaju.

3. < Ebugen, or Ergen.

4. yos-lo.

5. bla-brañ.

6. gsan-yig chen-mo. This is probably an exaggeration.

7. sGrub-thabs-bsdus-pa. This must be sGrub-thabs-kun-las-bsdus-pa

8. btus-pa, Tg. rGyud, 3400.

whether he possessed the Indian original of the *Sādhanaśamuchchaya*. He offered him a cloak,¹ and some ginger and pepper. The Dharmasvāmin greeted the Paṇḍita by reciting in Sanskrit the introductory verses of the *Uttaratantra*.² The Paṇḍita was greatly moved, shed tears, and exclaimed, "Learned, learned ! You are more learned than I ! You have studied for a long time in India, whereas I became like cattle (by staying here). Because of your fame as a scholar, the hair of my body stood erect." The Dharmasvāmin offered the Paṇḍita some gold dust, and preached the Doctrine, and related the Indian news, and those who had assembled shed tears. In the locality where the Dharmasvāmin had offered gold dust, the year was an auspicious one, free from illnesses.

Chapter Thirteenth on the Dharmasvāmin's stay at ITe'u-ra.

1. *bar.*

2. *Gyud-bla-ma, Tg. Sems-tsam, 4024.*

CHAPTER XIV

VISIT TO THAN-PO-CHE MONASTERY

At the age of sixty one, in the year of the Horse¹ (1258 A. D.), the Dharmasvāmin visited Than-po-che. He preached the Doctrine during the spring, summer and autumn terms at the Great Monastery. During the spring term,² the Dharmasvāmin explained the Commentary on the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*,³ the *Mahā-chittotpāda*, etc. During the summer term,⁴ he explained the *Jātakas*,⁵ the *Bodhicharyāvatāra*,⁶ the *Suhyllekha*,⁷ the *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla,⁸ the *Samvrti-bodhichittabhāvanā*⁹ and the *Paramārthabodhichittabhāvanā*¹⁰ by Aśvaghosha. During the autumn term,¹¹ he explained in a thorough manner the different minor texts of the Guhyasamāja according to the method of Nāgārjuna as also the Three Maṇḍala Rites¹² composed by the bla-ma (Guru) himself,—the Chos-spyod-nor-bu'i-phreñ-ba, the bsñō-ba'i man-ñag-rin-po-che'i-gter, and the Nan-son-sbyon-ba'i-rgyud with addenda, and the Prayer of Nāgārjuna in nine Ślokas translated by (the Dharmasvāmin). Further, he preached extensively the Doctrine, and after completing the autumn term, left (the monastery). The Dharmasvāmin said, "I am going to have (my) morning meal. After the meal, let all the monks assemble in my presence?" When they had gathered, the Dharmasvāmin addressed the monks, "It is not enough to know this Doctrine, one should practise meditation.¹³ Therefore practise meditation and study. If we were to think

1. rta-lo.
2. dpyid-chos.
3. Tg. mDo. 127.
4. dbyar-chos.
5. sKyes-rabs. Jātakamālā, Tg. sKyes-rabs, 4153.
6. Tg. dbU-ma, 3871.
7. Tg. Chos-'byuñ, 4497.
8. Ka-ma-la-si-la'i sGom-rim-grum, Tg. dbU-ma, 3915-17.
9. Tg. dbU-ma, 3871. 11. Tg. dbU-ma, 3911.
10. Tg. dbU-ma, 3911.
11. ston-chos.
12. Maṇḍal-gyi-cho-ga-gsum.
13. ñams-len.

that first we should study and then practise, that would be of no value. If you limited yourselves to study, an accident might happen, therefore practise meditation as well. In order not to repent at the time of death, having mastered the Doctrine, practise meditation. I, myself, having preached it for two years, had in mind to practise meditation. Will it be possible, I do not know. The former Dharmasvāmin passed away at the age of sixty four. Each of you should propitiate in his mind whatever tutelary deity he believes in, and should meditate on it. Master the *Gurupañchāśikā*.¹ When one is young, one should propitiate tutelary deities. When I was young, I performed the propitiating rite 2,600,000 times, and was thus able to return from India alive, though weak in body", and the Dharmasvāmin showed with his hand the gradual decline (of his health). The Dharmasvāmin said further, "When I was about to proceed to Nepāla and India, I made the solemn vow not to come back without seeing the Vajrāsana. From the age of seventeen till my fortyfifth year I made the solemn vow not to separate myself from ink and pen. Now also I have several solemn vows (to make), the solemn resolve to accumulate merit,² not to covet riches, not to indulge in worldly activities, not to lend on profit either grain, or a full measure³ of gold, not to collect taxes from the retinue, and not to boss people in adversity." Immediately after the end of the autumn term, the Dharmasvāmin left the great monastery (of Thaṅ-po-che), and proceeded to 'Ju'i-phu, and stayed in seclusion for three months at rGyal, observing silence and meditating. Then interrupting his meditation, he composed a commentary on the first chapter of the *Pradīpodyotana*.⁴ The Dharmasvāmin said, "The Tibetan Doctrine is not pure. Formerly the doctrine of Ha-śaṅ Mahāyāna spread. Now it is the same. In order to purify the Doctrine, it would be good to preach the *Mādhyamika-Ratnāvalī*. I should preach it in winter to the assembly of monks at Thaṅ."⁵ The

1. bLa-ma-lia-bcu-pa.

2. dge-sbyor.

3. bre.

4. Tg. rGyud, 1785.

5. Thaṅ-po-che.

Dharmasvāmin himself translated every syllable of the Indian original, and wrote it out in Tibetan, and added notes. In winter the Dharmasvāmin proceeded to Than-po-che, and preached the *Pradīpodyotana*¹ and the *Ratnāvāṇī* in the house of Śud-ke. The *kālyāṇa-mitra* Rig-ral² made a request for these books, and the Dharmasvāmin gave them to him. During the spring term, the Dharmasvāmin preached at mDo-sde-phug (name of a monastery near Lha-sa). During the summer term the Dharmasvāmin preached at the monastery of 'Khor-rdo (near Lha-sa), and laid the foundation of an ecclesiastical palace or bla-brañ. The building was completed in two summers. At that time each day he made the conch resound thirteen times—the conch of the morning meal, the conch of the tea-serving ceremony, the conch of the five daily religious classes, the evening conch, the conch of the evening tea, and the conch of the evening service. Each time a hundred monks, possessing manuscript books,³ offered him a *maṇḍala*,⁴ and (for this purpose) they erected a hundred *maṇḍala* stands. Then he received a letter from the official of Phag-mo-gru, gShon-tshul, requesting the Dharmasvāmin not to stay at Than-po-che. During the summer and winter terms he preached at Gun-thañ. He meditated at 'Dren-phu-lhas-sdiñs. There he translated the gTsong-lag-dgu'i-rgyud which was not translated into Tibetan. He also meditated at O-dkar-brag of Byiñ. He spent five full years in Yar-luñ.

Chapter Fourteenth about the Dharmasvāmin's coming to Than-po-che.

1. SG on-gsal.

2. Rig Rigs-ral, Rig-pa'i-ral-gri, famous scholar and editor of the Tibetan *bsTan-'gyur*.

3. dpe-groms.

4. Maṇḍalas are abodes of deities and are often offered to high lamas also as a mark of respect.

CHAPTER XV

VISIT TO JU-PHU MONASTERY

Having been invited to 'Ju-phu by 'Ju-ba-sTon-pa-bdag, the Dharmasvāmin bestowed the initiation of the Guhyasamāja composed by Nāgārjuna. The Dharmasvāmin erected a great *maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu,¹ and on the request of sTon-pa and his retinue preached for ten days. He preached the Mahāchittot-pāda rite and the abridged version of the Chittotpāda (rite), as well as preached extensively in an assembly. At the beginning of a sermon he used to recite in Sanskrit a *stotra* to Mañjughoṣa,² the bDud-tshar-bcod-pa'i-gzuñs and a *stotra* to the Guru.³ The Dharmasvāmin used to say, "When preaching one should at first recite each time the *stotra* to the Guru. This manner of preaching should not be forgotten!" and recited each time a *stotra* beginning with the words "*Guru-śaraṇa.....*".

Chapter Fifteenth (relating) the Dharmasvāmin's visit to 'Ju'-phu.

1. rDo-rje-dbyiñs
2. 'Jam-dbyaṅs-kyi-bstod-pa.
3. bLa-ma'i-bstod-pa.

CHAPTER XVI

DEATH OF DHARMASVĀMIN

The Dharmasvāmin preached extensively during the summer and winter terms at Ra-gud. At that time his classes were attended by a hundred monk-students possessing manuscript books. After that the Dharmasvāmin visited Sa-skyā, and presided there over a great religious assembly attended by all monks. He bestowed initiations on the elder monks headed by the Mahāguru Śar-pa. To some he administered the vows, some he established in the Doctrine by giving them the Refuge formula; he established laymen in abstinence and introduced countless sentient beings to spiritual life. The Great Official Śākya bzan-po and the Mahaguru Śar-pa honoured him greatly and requested him to stay at Sa-skyā, but the Dharmasvāmin declined, saying, "Health permitting, I shall come again. Now I must go to gNal." Without stopping anywhere, the Dharmasvāmin proceeded to lTe'u-ra and held there a religious assembly. He then distributed all the wealth accumulated by his attendant dKon-mchog-dpal. He gave away some three hundred plates filled with precious stones which sTon-pa Chos-rgyal had sent. Such acts of his indicated his intention of passing away. Here are the six signs which indicated that this manifestation of the Buddha was about to leave (this world). Which are the six? As said in the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*,¹ "the sign of accomplishing one's mission, the sign of aversion to worldly well-being, the sign of certitude in the existence of the Buddha, the sign of manifesting joy, the sign of completing one's acts, and the sign of quick maturing (of *karmic* acts). These are the signs that a manifestation of Buddha does not desire to remain (in this world)". Because of this, and for the sake of his disciples, the Dharmasvāmin lived for sixtyseven years, and passed away on the tenth day, which was an auspicious conjunction in the mansion of the 20th constellation (Revatī), on a Wednesday of the winter month

1. Theg-bsdus. Tg. Sems-tsam, 4048.

of Mārgaśīrsha (January) of the year Wood-Male--Mause (1264 A. D.). (His passing) was like the setting of the Sun, the Light of the World. Clamours and quakes accompanied it, and all the kingdom felt it. At lTe'u-ra they felt a perfume, unknown before. Some heard heavenly music. At that time the Guru and Dharmarāja 'Phags-pa was returning from China, and on reaching 'Dam in the North, he was given a letter conveying the news of the passing of the Guru Dharmasvāmin Chag lo-tsā-bā. The Dharmarāja ('Phags-pa) remained in deep silence (lit. "plunged in the Vajropama-samādhi"), and shed tears. The Dharmarāja said, "In a letter I had suggested to the Dharmasvāmin that either he should come to Mongolia, or that I should return (to Tibet); in reply the Dharmasvāmin wrote that in this life there was some doubt as to our meeting, and that he was offering prayers that in future existences we should meet again and again in a pure sphere. This is a sign that his premonition had come true." Before the news of the Dharmasvāmin's passing had reached them, an aged *sthavira* of Byamkhar, said, "Two Āchāryas had said that the Dharmasvāmin had passed away when the sun had warmed up." These two Āchāryas became known as a manifestation of the Dharmapāla. On the day of the Dharmasvāmin's passing, all saw a rain-bow of five colours over the palace roof. Though Lho-pa Nam-mkha'-dpal had said that the Dharmasvāmin's health was good, the appearance of numerous rainbows was not an auspicious sign. On the day of worshipping the remains, the day was observed to be longer than usual. A hermit who was daily reciting the *Mañjuśrī-nāmassaṅgītī* on the mountain of sKu'e-ri, felt it and recited the *Nāmassaṅgītī* thirty times more (than usual), and it was observed that the day became longer by that much. Such was the passing of the Dharmasvāmin.

The Venerable One, on the mere seeing of whom faith was born,
Became invisible.

Like the reflexion of the Moor in water
Disappears when the water is poured out,
So disappeared the clear nectar of the gods,
He who had an answer to all questions,

On doubtful points of the Doctrine, is no more.

On the 15th day of Pushya,¹ the seventh month, when the body was being anointed, the sky cleared and the air was filled with rain-bows and a shower of white flowers, similar to cups in shape, fell. Some people were able to fill both their hands, but when they opened their hands, the flowers had disappeared! People continued to search for them thinking that they had fallen on the ground. Some looked up towards the sky and got some more. After three days, the lumps of ice (placed near the body) melted, and extraordinary signs of the five Jinas appeared on the remains. Later when the reemains were placed on view, three bright rainbows, similar to a large banner spread upwards, appeared above the palace. In the afternoon of the day of his passing away, the Dharmasvāmin observed, "On the bed in front of me I see the Ten Wrathful Ones."² The attendant Āchārya sTon-rin enquired, "What was it?" The Dharmasvāmin replied, "They must have brought the masks of the Ten Wrathful Ones to draw a painting³ of them." This indicated that the Dharmasvāmin had a vision of the Ten Wrathful Ones.

The Sixteenth Chapter on the passing of the Guru Dharmasvāmin Chag lo-tsā-ba.

1. rGyal.
2. Khro-fo-bou.
3. bris-sku.

CHAPTER XVII
EPILOGUE OF THE AUTHOR

Though ignorant people, like myself,
Are unable to write about the perfection and utterances of
This Guru and Buddha,
This composition is in conformity with the Guru's utterances.
Tolerant people will perceive the faults of this composition,
Through virtue, all sentient beings have found
A prominent Teacher,
Having studied the profound Truth contained in
The Treasury of Scriptures of the Jina on the Doctrine of Śūnyatā
And the formula of Dependent Origination,
And mastered it,
Let such beings attain Omniscience !”
This composition called “The String of the Pure Words of the
Guru”, containing the stream of the nectar of the utterances of
the Guru Dharmasvāmin Chag lo-tsā-ba, free from the three
faults, was written by the Upāsaka Chos-dpal dar-dpyan¹ at
'Ju'-phu, the place trodden by the feet of the Guru and Great
Lo-tsā-ba, on the exhortation of Śes-rab-dbañ-phyug, the
kalyāṇa-mitra of Lho-pa, and others. This string of precious
and elegant words,
I offer as a necklace.
I offer it to all the *kalyāṇa-mitras* and *Tripitakadharas*.
With veneration, pray tell it to others!
Maṅgalam.

1. 'Ju-ba Chos-dar.

SUBJECT INDEX

TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTIONS BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

(Figures refer to pages)

- Ajātaśatru, king, 78
 Amitābha, a Buddhist deity, xxvi ; 82
 Amoghapaśa, Āchārya, 51
 Ānanda, 77
 Animesha Chaitya at Bodha-Gayā, xxxv
 Animal sacrifices, 96
 Aparājita, a Tantrik deity, iii ; 49
 Aśoka
 erects a temple at Bodha-Gayā, 65-6 ;
 prediction about, 77 ;
 sentences a monk to be boiled alive, 78 ;
 builds 10 million Stūpas, 78 ;
 recovers relics from Rājagriha, 78 ;
 see also pp. 30, 65-6, xxxii, iii-xxxvi.
 Aśokachalla, king of Sapādalaksha, xvi-viii ; xxii
 Āsvaghosha, works of, 107
 Atiśa, 55, 92
 Avalokiteśvara, a Buddhist deity, vii, viii, xxvi, 54, 92
 Bakhtiyar Khalji, xiv
 Baro, wealthy people in Nepāla, 101 ;
 bkra-sisdga, fore-father of Dharmasvāmin, 48
 Blue Achala, iii, 51
 Bodha-Gayā
 Its geography ; xxxi ;
 Buddha temple at, ii, v, xii, xix ;
 how the image at, was made ; xxxi ;
 67-70 ;
 Buddha image damaged, xix ; 70 ;
 the height of the temple at, xxxii ;
 xxxvi ; 66 ;
 Bodhi-tree at, xxxii ; 65-66 ;
 three gates to the establishment, 73 ;
 Chamkramaṇa path at, xxxiii ;
 railing at, xxxiv ; 70
 Buddha foot-prints at—, xxxiv ; 71 ;
 Dipastambha at—, xxxiv ; 72
 gate at—, xxxiv ; 72 ;
 monasteries at—, xxxv ; 73 ;
 Stūpas, holy objects and Chaityas at—, xxxv-i ; 65 ;
 deserted at Dharmasvāmin's arrival, 64 ;
 Nāgarāja at, 66 ;
 tooth-relic at, 71 ;
 viśvavajra at, 66-7 ;
 Tārā temple at 73 ;
 offering lamp at, 72
 under the apprehension of a Muslim attack, xix ;
 see also iii, vi, viii, xviii, xxxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxviii-ix, xxxvii.
 Bodha-Gayā inscription of Aśoka-challa, xvi ;
 of Mahānāman, xxiii
 Buddha, offers his body to tigress, 81 ;
 Budhasena, king of Bodha-Gayā ;
 his ancestry, xiv, 64 ;
 flees to forest, xiv, 64 ;
 returns to Bodha-Gayā, 64 ;
 greets Dharmasvāmin, 65 ;
 supports Nālandā establishment, 90,
 his inscriptions at Bodha-Gayā and Janibigha, xv ;
 see also xi, xii, xvi, xviii
 Budhaśrī, a monk, iii, xii, 51
 Buddhism, condition of, xxii ;
 rivalry between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, xxiv-v ;
 its differences with Hinduism, xxvi-vii.
 Buddhist priests, their greed, 72
 Bu-Kham, a Buddhist Vihāra in Nepāla, 54
 Ceylonese priests, in control of the Bodha-Gayā temple, xxiii
 Census in Tibet, 105
 Chag-gron, birth place of Dharmasvāmin, 48
 Chaglo-tsa-ba, translator, xxxix ;
 qualifications of xxxix, 48
 Chagelo-tsa-ba dgra—bcom,
 uncle and personal teacher of Dharmasvāmin, ii-iii ;
 his scholarship and pilgrimage, 48 ; 50 ;
 lived between 1153-1216 A. D. 48 m5 ;
 urges Dharmasvāmin to go to India, 51 ;

- his exhortations to Dharmasvāmin, 51.
- Chandragomin,
his grammar most popular, 85 ;
his controversy with Chandrakīrti, 91-92 ;
see also iv, xxlv, xxvi.
- China, i
- Chos-dar' biographer of Dharmasvāmin, xxxix ;
his tribute to Dharmasvāmin, 47 ;
114 ;
describes his book as *guruṣāgavimalāvali*, suggesting that it was practically an autobiography, 47.
- Dānaśrī ; a monk-scholar of Yarlung, iii, x ;
highly honours Indian scholarship, 105, 106.
- Dancers and singers at Nālandā, 92-3.
- Darma 'byun-gnas, father of Dharmasvāmin, 49.
- Devasthya, a legendary king, xiv ;
ancestor of Budhasena, civ-v.
- Dhana-ba Vihāra at Nālandā, xx, 91.
- Dharmachakrapravartana Vihāra at Vārāṇasī, 68.
- Dharmadhātu Vihāra, iv, 55.
- Dharmakāya, 47.
- Dharmasvāmin—
description of his person and voice, 49 ;
manifested Body of Nirmāṇakāya, 47 ;
same as Chos-rje-dpal ;
importance of his biography, i-ii ;
other sources of biography, xl ;
its reliability, xii-xiii ;
how far autobiography, xxxix, 114 ;
his biographer, Upāsaka Chos-dar ;
his birth date, xi ;
miracle at his birth, 49 ;
his father's scholarship and worth, 49 ;
early education in Tibet under his uncle ; iii ; xli ;
subjects studied by, iv ; 48 ; 50 ;
his studious habits, iv ;
his interest in Indian scholars, iv ;
his studies in gTsan for 10 years, xli ; 52 ;
In Nepāla for 8 years ; iv ; xli ;
gives up Tantric practices, 56 ;
his itenry in India, vi ;
Indian trip of, encouraged and discouraged, 52, 57 ;
his illnesses, vi, vii, 97 ;
Attacked by an impudent woman, 57 ;
difficulties encountered by, vii, viii ; 97.
- first rainy season at Bodha-Gayā, 14 ;
studics *Gurupañchāśikā* at Nālandā, viii ;
bids farewell to Nālandā, 97 ;
incidents in his return journey ; viii-ix ;
attacked in boat by Muslim soldiers, 98 ;
falls ill at Simraongarh, 98-9 ;
MSS collected by in India and Nepāla, ix ;
spends 4 years at Yandog monastery, viii-ix ;
at I-te-ura monastery for 23 years with intervals, ix ;
visited stag-tshal of Yar-Lung, x ;
invited by Kublai-Khan, ix ; 104 ;
and by imperial envoys, 104 ;
at Than-po-Che in 1258, x ; 107-9 ;
subjects of his lectures, x ; 107-9 ;
prayer before lecture, 110 ;
vows observed by, xi, 108-9 ;
lays foundation of an ecclesiastical palace at Lhasa, x, 119 ;
gives all his wealth in charity, xi ;
dies in 1264, xi, 111-2 ;
regarded as manifestation of the Buddha, iii ;
miracles at his death, 112-3 ;
author of 30 books, included in bsTan-gyur, xi, xliii-xlv.
- Dharmasvāminśrī, teacher of Dharmasvāmin, 48.
- dpal d Gra-can, a famous monastery in Tibet, 48.
- Dun Hill, xxix.
- Fa Hian, i-ii, xiii ; xxiv ; xxxii.
- Gaṅgadeva, son of Nānyadeva, xiii.
- Gangā, mortal remains thrown in, xxviii, 58-9 ;
description of ; 63 ;
see also, vii, xxx ; 90 ; 98.
- Ghiyās-ud-din, Sultan of Bengal, xiv.
- Ghu-na-ba-Vihāra, xx, 91.
- gñal, a part of lower Tibet, 48 ; 105.
- Grammar, study of, at Nālandā, 95.
- Gridhakūṭa,
infested by wild animals, vi Stupa at, xxv ; xxix, xxxvi, 87-88.
- Guhyasamāja, iv, xxvi ; 107 ; 110.
- Gurughṇṭā*, v, xxiii.
- Guruvāgavimalāvali*, name of the biography, 47.
- Hāhā Tārā, xxv ; 76.
- Hayaghoṣha, Āchārya, 72.
- Hulls in N. Bihar, xxix.
- Hīnayāna ; differences with Mahāyāna, xxvi-vii ;



- its rivalry with Mahāyāna, xxiv-v ;
 its gibes at Mahāyāna, 74
 Hinduism and Buddhism ; differences between, xxvi-xxviii ;
 temples of the one visited by the followers of the other, xxvii.
 Ikhtiyar-ud-din, Muhammad, same as Bakhtiyar Khalji, xi.
 Ilutmish, Slave emperor, xiv, xli.
 India ; its reputation about scholarship, 103 ; 106.
 Indo-Tibetan intercourse, ii ; iii ; 103.
 Indrāgnimitra, husband of Kurāṅgī, xxxiv.
 Interpreter, profession of, iii ; 51.
 Ite-ura monastery ; Dharmasvāmin's monastery in Tibet, x, viii, ix returns there after 24 years, 104 ; place of Dharmasvāmin's death, xiii ; Dharmasvāmin's *tapasyā* at 51. see also pp. viii-x.
 Itsing, i-ii ; xiii.
 Janibighā inscription of Jayasena, xv, xvi.
 Jayadeva, a lay disciple, alerts Nālandā, xxiii ; 90 ; 93-4 ; see also xxi ; xxvi ; xxvii.
 Jayasena, father of king Budhasena of Bodha-Gayā, xv.
 Jñānanātha, temple of, at Nālandā, xx ; image of, 91 ; his miraculous powers, xxi ; 93-4 ; the Muslim soldier dishonouring him, dies, 94.
 Ju-phu monastery, preserved the biography xl ; situated in Yar-Kluns, 50 n.8 ; Dharmasvāmin's visit to, 110, 114.
 Kālī, makes Kālidāsa wise, 82-4.
 Kālidāsa, legend about, 82-4 ; see also iv, vi, xii.
 Kalipa grammar, attributed to Kālidāsa, xii, 85
 Kamalaśīla, author of *Bhāvanākrama*, 10.
 Kārṇāta dynasty, xii.
 Khasarapaṇa Avalokiteśvara, at Nālandā, 91 ; see also pp. iii, xxiv, xxvi.
 Khubilai Khan, same as Kublai Khan, xliii, 104.
 Kublai Khan, invites Dharmasvāmin ; ix ; xi ; same as Khan Khubilai, 104.
 Kurāṅgī queen, builds the railing at Bodha-Gayā, xxxiv.
 Kusumapura, same as Pāṭaliputra, 77.
 Lakshmaṇa Samvat, xi, xv-xvii ; not used by any Sena king, xvi ; Vidyāvinoda on, xvii.
 Lhasa :
 Sakamuni temple at, ix ; see also p. iii.
 Libraries, destruction of, iii.
 Magadha, reverence for, xxx ; 62 ; 1512 villages in, xxx ; 87 ; dimensions of, 63 ; Buddhist and Hindu temples in, 82-2 ; see also, vi, vii, ix ; xx ; 81 ; 95 ; 97-8.
 Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma, xxxv, 48.
 Mahābodhi temple, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvi.
 Mahābodhi image, 64 ; 65 ; 67 ; 73.
 Mahādeva, 82.
 Mahāyāna, gibes of, at Hinayāna, 75.
 Mahēśvara, image of, xxvii ; concedes superiority of Buddhism, 67-8 ; see also p. xxxi.
 Mañjughoṣha, 91-2.
 Mañjusrī image at Nālandā, 91-2.
Mañjusrī-mūla-tantra, 80.
 Maṅgul, Yan-Dog monastery in, 103.
 Māra, xxx.
 Mithilā, xiii ; xxviii.
 Muslim invasions, effects of, v ; xviii-xxi ; precautions against, at Simraongarh, xiv ; at Vaiśālī, 61-2 ; at Bodha-Gayā, 64 ; Muslim soldiers attack Dharmasvāmin, 98.
 Nāgārjuna, builds stone railing at Bodha-Gayā ; xxxiv, 65-66 ; 70 ; see also 49 ; 54 ; 56 ; 94 ; 107 ; 110.
 Nairanjana river, xxix ; 82.
 Nālandā, derivation of, xxxvii ; 48 ; 50 ; 70 students at, in 1235 ; vi, xx ; its condition during 1206 to 1234, xix ; two Vihāras in serviceable condition, 91 ; why not completely destroyed, xx ; monks flee away, 94 ; final destruction of, xxi ; 94 ; temples and monasteries at, xxvi ; xxxvii ; 90-1 ; easy life at, xxvi ; 92-3 ; illness of Dharmasvāmin at, 95-7 ; see also i-ii ; v-vi ; viii ; 85-6.
 Nānyadeva, xiii, xxix ; xxx.
 Narasimhadeva, Kārṇāta king, xiv.
 Nāropa, a Tantrik Siddha, xxv ; living near Nālandā, 85.
 Nepāla :
 Dharmasvāmin in, iv-v ; 53-6 ;

- Svayambhū Chaitya in, 53 ;
 Bukham Vihāra in, 53 ;
 Tham Vihāra in, 53 ;
 Dharmasvamin returns to, viii-ix ;
 Nepalese in Pata, 101 ;
 forming part of Karnāṭa Kingdom,
 xxix ;
 see also, xxx ; 71 ; 95 ; 96 ; 99 ;
 102 ; 108.
 Odantapuri ; xxvii,
 same as Bihar Sharif ; xx ; xxviii ;
 headquarters of Muslim commander, xliii.
 Orthography of the MS, xl.
 Pān-eating in India and Nepāla,
 xxviii ; 96-7.
 Palaeography of the MS, xl.
 Pa-ta, same as Simraongarh,
 palace and fortifications at, xxx ;
 see also vii ; xiii ; 58 ; 59 ; 98 ;
 100-1
 Phulahari, hermitage of Nāropa at, 85
 Pīthī, same as Bodh-Gayā, xv.
 Prakhyātakīrti, a scion of Royal
 family of Lañkā, xxiii.
 Priests, Buddhist, greediness of, xxiii ;
 not taking wine but pomegranate
 juice, 97.
 Pūrṇavarman repairs railing round
 Bodhi tree, xxxiii.
 Purushottam Simha, xviii.
 Rāhula, same as Rahula-śrī-Bhadra
 Rāhula-śrī-Bhadra, head abbot at
 Nālandā, ii ; viii ; xx, xxi, xxii ;
 ninety years old, vi ;
 specialist in grammar and Tibeto-
 logic, vi ;
 amenities for, xxvi, 90-1 ;
 Tārānātha on, xliii
 see also ii, viii, xxi, xxvii.
 Rājagriha ;
 Buddha relics at, 78-9 ;
 600 houses at, xxxvi ; 89 ;
 hot springs at, 89 ;
 Veluvana at, 89 ;
 see also, vi, viii, xxii ; xxiv, xxxi ; 69.
 Rāmasimha, a Karnāṭa king, vii, xi,
 xii ; xiii-xiv ; xxvi ; xxix, xxx ;
 gives several presents to Dharma-
 svāmin and offers him his priest-
 hood, 100.
 Rāmasimhadeva, same as Rāmasim-
 ha, xlii.
 Ratnarakshita, a Tantrik, Guru of
 Dharmasvāmin, iv-v, 53-4.
 Ratnaśrī, a monk, iii, 51-2.
 Rathayātrā of Buddhist images, xxiv,
 54-5 ;
 how it differed from Hindu Ratha-
 yātrā, xxi v ; 55 ;
 of Manjuśrī, 92.
 Ratnagriha Chaitya, at Bodha-Gayā
 xxxv.
 Ratnāvali, ascribed to Nāgārjuna, 56.
 Ravindra,
 a Guru of Dharmasvāmin ; not a
 Tantric, iv-v ; viii, 54
 encourages Dharmasvāmin's pilgri-
 mage to India, 57 ;
 urges him to stay at Yan-dog, 101 ;
 regarded teacher and pupil as
 father and son, xxvii.
 Remata, a Tantric deity, iii.
 Remati, Tantric goddess, 49
 Rishishirsha hill, xxix ; 57 ; 61.
 Rukn-ud-din, weak emperor at Delhi,
 xiv.
 Śar-pa, Chief abbot at Sa-skyā ;
 invites Dharmasvāmin, iii.
 Saṁvara temple at Nālandā, xxvi ; 48
 Samudragupta, xxiii.
 Śākyamuni temple, at Lhasa, ix ;
 71 ; 105.
 Śākyasrī, a monk, iii ; 51 ; 99.
 Sanyāsins, honoured, xxiii.
 Śaśāṅka, xxxiii.
 Sa-skyā monastery, Dharmasvāmin
 at, ix ; x, xlii ; 101 ; 111 ;
 asks for a commentary on the
Nāmasaṁgīti 102-3.
 Simarāmagarh, same as Pa-ta or
 Simrāongarh, xxx, xlii.
 Simrāongarh,
 Dharmasvāmin at, vii ; xiii-xiv ;
 its fortifications and population ;
 58 ;
 same as Simārāmagarh, xxx.
 Śītavana monastery, xxxvii ; 85.
 Somanātha,
 temple of, xxvi, 82 ;
 image of, miraculously split, 82 ;
 animal offerings to, 82.
 Someśvara, xxix.
 So-rtsi, 97.
 'Stage', length of, xxviii.
 Sugar, raw, manufactured in Tirhut,
 58.
 Suvarṇadvīpa, 78.
 Svayambhū Chaitya,
 in Nepāla, iv ; 53-4 ;
 Ratnarakshita installs images at,
 54 ; 56.
 Tantric practices,
 in Buddhism, iii, xxv-vi ;
 Dharmasvāmin gives them up, 56.
 Tārā ;
 temple of, at Bodha-Gayā, 65 ; 75 ;
 laughing, 75-6 ;
 without ornaments, 92-3.
 Teacher : his relations with the stu-

- dent, xxvii.
- Thanpo-che monastery in Tibet,
107-9;
subjects taught at, by Dharma-
svāmin, 107-8
- Thani vihāra in Nepāla, miraculous
light at, 55.
- Tibet, intercourse with, i-iii; iv,
xiii; 97; 99; 105.
- Tirhut, dimensions of, xxxi; 57.
Dharmasvāmin in, 57-60;
see also v, vii, iii; xxvii-viii; 52, 98.
- Udayātrī records from Sindhala, xxiii.
- Untouchability, xxvii; 85-6,
- Vāgīśvara, 80.
- Vaiśālī :
semi-deserted, xxx;
Dharmasvāmin at, 61-2; 63;
see also xix, xxviii, xxix-xxx.
- Vajraghaṇṭā, bell with handle, 53.
- Vajrāsana temple, iii, v; viii; xii;
xxix; xxxiii; xxxvii; 48; 51-2;
61-65; 71; 81-2; 86; 90; 97;
108.
- Vārāṇasī, xxxi, 69.
- Vararuchi, legend about, 83.
- Vartula script, iv.
- Veluvana Vihāra at Rājāgriha, xii;
Vixxxvi; 68; 69; 78; 79;
kramaśīlā,
a Tibetan as Dvārapāḍita at, xl;
its destruction, xliii; 64;
see also, i-11; viii; xix.
- Viravāpā, a Tantric-Siddha, xxvi;
82.
- Viśvavajra at Bodha-Gayā, xxxii-iii;
66-7.
- Vivarta script, 50.
- Winc, not taken by Buddhist monks, 97.
- Yandog monastery—
on the border of Tibet and India,
viii-ix;
also known as Yar-kluns, xl;
honours Dharmasvāmin, 102;
laymen at, give several presents
to Dharmasvāmin, 102-4.
- Yar-lung monastery—
Dharmasvāmin spends five years
at, 109.
- Yāśomitra, an Indian Guru of Dharma-
svāmin at Rajgir, vi, viii, 89.
- Yojana, its length, xxxi.
- Yuan Chwang, i; ii; iv; xiii; xxxi;
xxxii; xxxiii; xxxv; xxxvi.

328